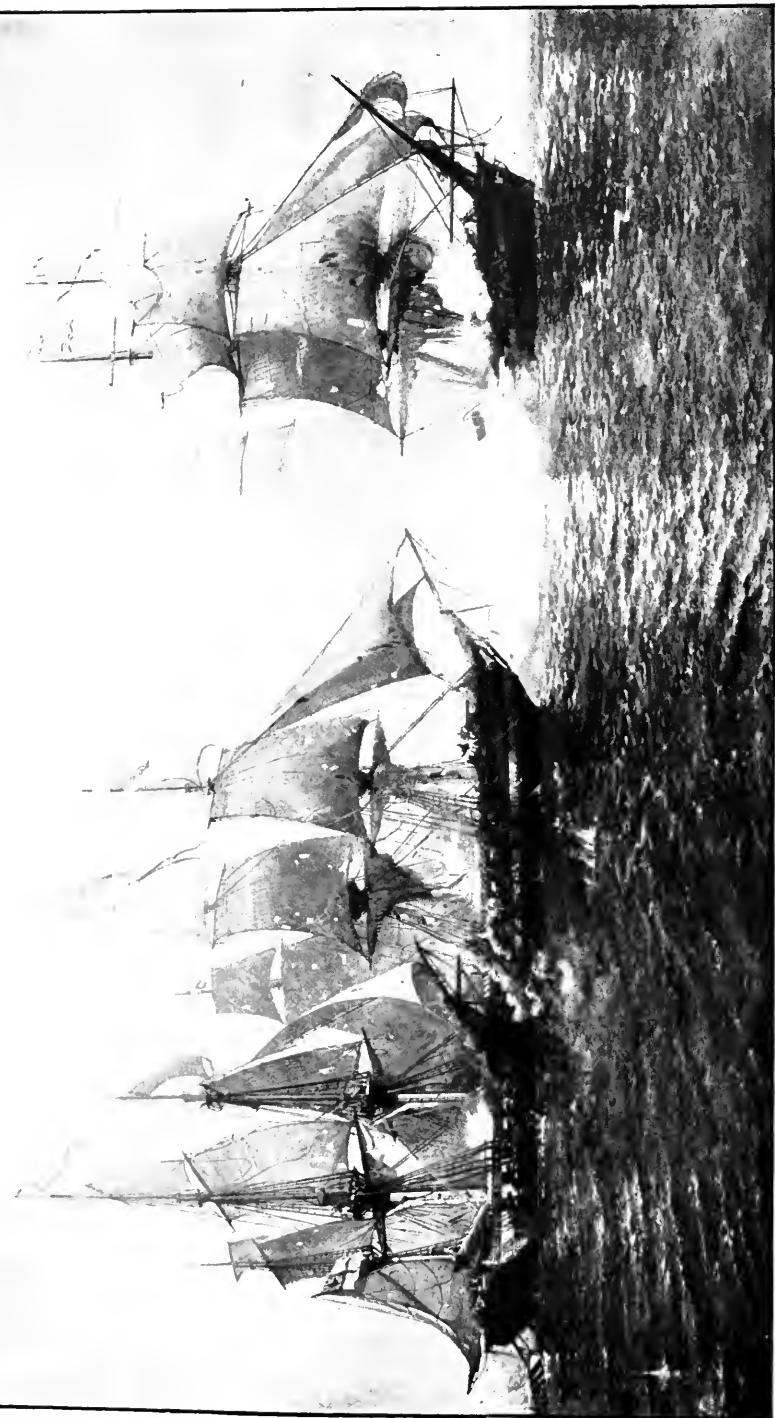


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CONTAINING

A RECORD OF THE HUMAN RACE FROM THE
EARLIEST HISTORICAL PERIOD TO THE PRESENT TIME;
EMBRACING A GENERAL SURVEY OF THE PROGRESS OF MANKIND
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HUBERT HOWE BANCROFT
HISTORIAN
GEORGE EDWIN RINES
MANAGING EDITOR

*Reviewed and Endorsed by Fifteen Professors in History and Educators in
American Universities, among whom are the following:*

GEORGE EMORY FELLOWS, Ph.D.,
LL.D.

President, University of Maine

KEMP PLUMMER BATTLE, A.M.,
LL.D.

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Ph.D.

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CHAPTER XLIII.

UNITED STATES OF AMERICA.

SECTION I.—DOMESTIC TROUBLES AND FOREIGN RELATIONS (A. D. 1789—1812).

AFTER the National Constitution, by receiving the approval of the people of the requisite number of States, had become the Supreme Law of the land, George Washington was chosen, by the unanimous vote of the Electors, the first President of the United States, and John Adams, of Massachusetts, was elected Vice President. Washington
Elected
President

Edmund Randolph, who was no strong adherent of Washington, afterward wrote to him thus: “The Constitution would never have been adopted but from a knowledge that you had once sanctioned it and an expectation that you would execute it.” Lafayette at once wrote from Paris: “The Constitution satisfies many of our desires; but I am much mistaken if there are not some points that would be perilous had not the United States the happiness of possessing their guardian angel, who will lead them to whatever still remains to be done before reaching perfection.”

Washington consented to what he called “this last great sacrifice.” He wrote in his diary: “I bade adieu to Mount Vernon and to domestic felicity; and, with a mind oppressed with more anxious and painful sensations than I have words to express, set out with the best disposition to render service to my country in obedience to its call, but with less hope of answering its expectations.” Washington's
Adieu to
Mount
Vernon.

After a month’s delay the two Houses of Congress had been organized in New York city, and John Adams took his place as Vice President a few days before Washington’s arrival. Washington’s journey from Mount Vernon to New York was a continued ovation. At Trenton he passed under a beautiful arch bearing the inscription: “The defender of the mothers will be the protector of the daughters.” New
National
Govern-
ment.

The inauguration of Washington took place on the 30th of April, 1789, in New York city, in the presence of an immense body of spectators, the oath of office being administered by Chancellor Robert R.

President
Washing-
ton, A. D.
1789—
1797.

**Remarks
in His
Inaugural
Address.**

Livingston. Washington was well aware that it was far more difficult to set the new National Constitution in operation than had been the work of its formation. He felt that it was still an untried instrument and that time only could tell its efficiency. In his inaugural address he said: "It would be peculiarly improper to omit in this first official act my fervent supplications to that Almighty Being Who rules over the universe, Who presides in the councils of nations and Whose providential aids can supply every human defect, that His benediction may consecrate to the liberties and happiness of the people of the United States a government instituted by themselves for these essential purposes, and may enable every instrument employed in its administration to execute with success the functions allotted to his charge."

**President
Washing-
ton's
Appeal
to His
Fellow-
Christians.**

In a similar spirit the President invoked the support of his fellow-citizens and fellow-Christians. Among the many addresses which poured in upon him from various bodies, political and industrial, literary and scientific, none pleased him more than those he received from religious organizations. In his replies he dwelt upon the necessity of their sympathies and prayers and made earnest pleas for charity and tolerance among the various branches of the Christian Church. In an address to his own Church, the Protestant Episcopal, he expressed his satisfaction "to see Christians of different denominations dwell together in more charity and conduct themselves in respect to each other with a more Christian-like spirit than ever they had done in any former age or in any other nation." To the Roman Catholic Church, that had been so much persecuted during the colonial period, he wrote thus: "I hope ever to see America among the foremost nations in examples of justice and liberality. And I presume that your fellow-citizens will not forget the patriotic part which you took in the accomplishment of their Revolution and the establishment of their government."

**Congress
and the
Organiza-
tion
of the
Govern-
ment.**

The first session of the First Congress under the new National Constitution was devoted to the complete organization of the new National government. Frederick Augustus Muhlenberg, of Pennsylvania, was the Speaker of the House of Representatives of the First Congress, as he was also of that of the Third Congress. Congress provided for the establishment of three Executive Departments—State, Treasury and War—the heads of which were to be styled Secretaries instead of Ministers as in Europe, and who, with an Attorney-General, were to constitute the President's Cabinet, and could be appointed by him, with the advice and consent of the Senate, and could be dismissed by him at his pleasure. The Postmaster-General was not a Cabinet officer until a later period. Congress also established a National Judiciary, consisting of a Supreme Court, having a Chief Justice and several Associate Justices, and Circuit and District Courts, which had jurisdiction over

WASHINGTON DELIVERING HIS FIRST INAUGURAL.

From the Painting by T. H. Matteson

-
- 1 John Rutledge 7 John Adams 12 John Jay 17 Fisher Ames 22 Page
2 George Clymer 8 Charles Thomson 13 Elbridge Gerry 18 Elias Boudinot 23 Rev. Samuel Provost
3 Thos. McKean 9 Alexander Hamilton 14 Rev. Benj. Moore 19 Robert Livingston 24 William Paca
4 William Hooper 10 Oliver Ellsworth 15 Madison 20 Colonel Humphreys 25 Anthony Wayne
5 J. R. 11 G. M. 16 C. W. 21 J. C. 26 J. C. 27 Francis Lewis
6 J. C. 12 G. M. 17 G. M. 22 G. M. 28 Oliver Wolcott
7 J. C. 18 G. M. 19 G. M. 23 G. M. 29 Dr. Witherspoon
8 G. M. 20 G. M. 24 G. M. 25 G. M. 30 Samuel Chase



certain specified cases. Thomas Jefferson, of Virginia, was appointed Secretary of State; Alexander Hamilton, of New York, Secretary of the Treasury; Henry Knox, of New York, Secretary of War; and Edmund Randolph, of Virginia, Attorney-General. John Jay, of New York, was appointed Chief Justice. Samuel Osgood, of Massachusetts, was appointed Postmaster-General, September, 1796.

Congress had already engaged in Constitutional discussions. Over fifty amendments of the new National Constitution were proposed by the different States of the Union. Neither the States nor their Senators or Representatives suggested any fundamental changes in the Constitution. The old federal party of the Constitutional Convention period had now become the anti-federalist party, and from this party most of the proposed amendments emanated, none of which asked for any overthrow of the National system. This party was satisfied with a few articles declaring the States and the people in possession of all the powers and all the rights not otherwise surrendered to the National government. Ten such articles were adopted by Congress and ratified by the States as amendments of the Constitution.

Proposed Amendments of the Constitution.

A question of far more vital concern was the public revenue, and Congress devoted itself to the consideration of this subject during the first weeks of its first session. After long and intricate debates, Congress enacted a tariff, designed to serve both for revenue and for protection to domestic interests. A tonnage duty, with great advantages to American shipping, was likewise adopted by Congress. Near the close of the first session, Congress also passed an excise on domestic distilled spirits. These measures were modified at intervals; but the fact remained that the duties upon imports were intended to provide revenue for the running expenses of the government and to give protection to the Nation's industries.

Revenue and Tariff.

The First Congress also provided for the public credit, at its second session, early in 1790. The debts of the Confederation amounted to fifty-four million dollars, or to eighty millions if the debts of the States, incurred for general objects, were added. Alexander Hamilton, as Secretary of the Treasury, proposed that these debts, as a whole, should be assumed by the National government. Various opinions were thereupon expressed. While the members of Congress were agreed as to the general government's assumption of the foreign debt of the Nation, they differed as to the assumption of the domestic debt due from the Confederation itself, and also as to the assumption of the debts due from the several States of the Confederation.

Public Credit.

As to the debts due from the Confederation itself many members of Congress argued that the certificates of the public debt were no longer in the possession of the first holders, and that to refund them at their

Debts of the Confederation.

par value would simply put money into the pockets of speculators to whom the original holders had transferred their certificates at great sacrifices.

**State
Debts.**

As to assuming the debts of the States there was still more earnest opposition from members of Congress, especially from the Representatives of those States whose exertions during the War of the Revolution had been comparatively limited. Moreover, it was a matter to be supported or opposed in accordance with the various views of the State governments and the National government. Those members of Congress who, like the Secretary of the Treasury, desired to see the National government have great strength favored that government as the center of the public credit; while those who advocated the rights of the States opposed the assumption of the State debts by the National government.

**Perma-
nent
National
Capital.**

The question of the permanent location of the National capital had been a bone of contention in Congress, various locations being suggested, the three most prominent being Philadelphia; Wright's Ferry, now Columbia, on the Susquehanna, in Pennsylvania; and a site on the Potomac, suggested by Maryland and Virginia Congressmen. The First Congress, during its second session, early in 1790, passed an act for the removal of the seat of the National government from New York city to Philadelphia, where it should remain until the expiration of ten years from that date (1790-1800), when it should be removed to a suitable place on the Potomac, as suggested by Congressmen from Maryland and Virginia. The question was not decided absolutely on its merits, but was largely the result of intrigue, the question of the general government's assumption of the State debts having something to do with the selection of the site for the permanent National capital. When the House of Representatives decided against the Nation's assuming the State debts the advocates of assumption secured the necessary votes for their schemes by voting for the Potomac site for the Nation's permanent seat of government.

**Assump-
tion of
State
Debts.**

The question of the National capital's permanent location being thus settled, the champions of the Nation's assumption of the State debts were then enabled to carry their scheme through, and the State debts were then assumed by the National government in certain proportions. As the main object of contention was thus disposed of, the National funding of the domestic and foreign debt was speedily completed, August 4, 1790.

**Virginia's
Opposi-
tion
Thereto.**

This transaction was not fully satisfactory to the whole Nation. Even Virginia, whose Representatives had voted for the scheme, considering their State to be amply compensated by the future location of the National capital on the Potomac, decided against the entire system, except that part relating to the foreign debt. That State pro-

nounced the funding of the general domestic debt to be "dangerous to the rights, and subversive of the interests, of the people," at the same time declaring the assumption of the State debts to be "repugnant to the Constitution." This did not end opposition.

On the other hand, the public creditors were highly delighted. All the financial interests of the Nation were quickened, as the public bonds were so much additional capital thrown into the channels of industry and of commerce. Agreeably to Secretary of the Treasury Hamilton's recommendation, the First Congress, during its third session, early in 1791, authorized the establishment of a United States Bank and a United States Mint for coinage, both of which were located at Philadelphia. The whole number of shares offered were taken up in two hours after the opening of the subscription books, thus giving a signal proof of the confidence now placed in the National credit. David Rittenhouse, of Philadelphia, the great astronomer, mechanician, mathematician and statesman, was the first Director of the United States Mint.

But the number and earnestness of the opponents of these measures were greatly increased by the successes which attended them. The subject engaged the attention of the President's Cabinet, Secretary of State Jefferson and Attorney-General Randolph questioning whether the new United States Bank's charter was not unauthorized by the National Constitution. President Washington himself had hesitated before approving the act of Congress for the creation of the United States Bank.

Already North Carolina and Rhode Island had become members of the Union by ratifying the National Constitution; North Carolina on November 18, 1789, and Rhode Island on May 29, 1790. The census of 1790 gave the Nation a population of nearly four millions, of which almost seven hundred thousand were negro slaves.

The vast wilderness west of the original Thirteen States, organized into three immense Territories, was already becoming peopled. The North-west Territory, organized in 1787, was formed out of the domain ceded to the United States by Massachusetts, Connecticut, New York and Virginia, and embraced the region comprised by the present States of Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Michigan and Wisconsin and the north-eastern part of Minnesota. The Territory South of the Ohio, organized in 1790, and named Tennessee Territory in 1794, was erected out of the vast region ceded to the United States by North Carolina, and constituted the domain comprehended in the present State of Tennessee. The Territory of Kentucky, organized in 1790, included the region ceded to the United States by Virginia, corresponding to the present State of the same name.

Public
Creditors
Delighted.

United
States
Bank and
Mint at
Philadelphia.

Position
of the
Presi-
dent's
Cabinet
Thereon.

The
Union
and Its
Popula-
tion in
1790.

Three
Vast
Terri-
tories.

Vermont,
Kentucky,
Tennessee.

Pennsyl-
vania
Enlarged.

Work
of the
States.

Depend-
ence on
Washing-
ton.

President
Washing-
ton's
Tours.

Federal-
ists and
Repub-
licans,
or Demo-
crats.

During Washington's administration the number of States was increased to sixteen by the admission of Vermont, March 4, 1791; Kentucky, June 1, 1792; and Tennessee, June 1, 1796. Vermont, which originally had been claimed by both New Hampshire and New York, was admitted with the consent of New York. Kentucky comprehended the Territory of the same name, and Tennessee embraced the Territory of that designation. In 1792 Pennsylvania's territory was enlarged by the cession of the south-western corner of New York, bordering on Lake Erie.

In the meantime the States of the Union were learning their new relations to the National government and to one another. Within their own respective limits there remained much to be done to reëstablish the law that had been shaken and to restore the order that had been disturbed by the agitation and the succeeding struggle which resulted in the political separation from the Mother Country. Many of the States remodeled their constitutions, and some of them adopted entirely new ones.

The main interest of the time centered on the general government, as it was felt that by this government, and not by any State or local governments, were the problems and difficulties of the Nation to be encountered and settled. The general government itself was concentrated in the illustrious executive who presided over the Nation's destinies. His power of character, his excellence and judgment, his inspiration of thought, and energy of action, were fully attested by the homage paid him near the close of his first term by the Senators and Representatives of the Nation in Philadelphia, then the National capital, including men of both parties and both sections of the Union—Federalists and Republicans, Northerners and Southerners.

In spite of party strife and sectional dissensions, the unity of the Nation had been strikingly illustrated in President Washington's tours. In October and November, 1789, he visited New Hampshire, Massachusetts and Connecticut. In August, 1790, he visited Rhode Island, which only had joined the Union by ratifying the National Constitution since his visit to New England the previous year. In April, May and June, 1791, he made a tour of the Middle and Southern States. Everywhere he was received with greater homage than ever had been accorded to any crowned head. Although this homage was offered to him as an individual, it had a beneficial effect upon the Union at large.

During Washington's first term the two parties which divided the Nation crystallized into two powerful political organizations, the founders and recognized leaders of which were the two leading members of the President's Cabinet. The one party, called the Republican, or Democratic party, headed by Thomas Jefferson, Secretary of State,

advocated the distribution of power among the States and the people. The other party, called the Federalist party, headed by Alexander Hamilton, Secretary of the Treasury, advocated the concentration of great power in the National government. The Republicans, being the State Rights party, were generally more favorable to the old Confederation; while, the Federalists, being the strong Union and National party, were the special champions of the new National Constitution. The feeling between these two parties was most bitter. The Republicans reproached the Federalists as monarchists, while the Federalists denounced the Republicans as anarchists. An ultra faction of the Republicans were called Democrats, and the Federalists often applied that name to the entire Republican party, though Jefferson and his followers only called themselves Republicans. The wealthy, the moneyed and capitalistic classes, the aristocrats generally, the cultured and professional classes largely, especially the clergy—the classes generally called “the better elements”—including the Tories of the Revolution, were in the Federalist party; while “the common people” and lower classes were Republicans. The Federalists were strongest in the North, especially in New England, which was overwhelmingly Federalist; while the Republicans were the dominant party in the South. The Republicans sympathized with Revolutionary and Republican France in her war with Great Britain and the crowned heads of Continental Europe; while the Federalists, shocked by the excesses of the French Reign of Terror, were disposed to side with Great Britain.

Alexander Hamilton had no confidence in popular government. Had it not been for Jefferson and his followers the government of the United States would have been very different from what it is now. The political contests of that day were really contests between the principles of kingly and popular government. Jefferson stated that at dinner parties of that day he was generally the only one who had full confidence in republican institutions.

Hamilton was not only a monarchist, but avowed himself in favor of a monarchy with corruption. On one occasion, in April, 1791, Mr. Adams remarked concerning the British Constitution: “Purge it of its corruption and give to its popular branch equality of representation, and it would be the most perfect constitution ever devised by the wit of man.” Thereupon Hamilton remarked: “Purge it of its corruption and give to its popular branch equality of representation, and it would become an impracticable government. As it stands at present, with all its supposed defects, it is the most perfect government which ever existed.”

Mr. Adams himself during his mission to England had imbibed monarchical notions, and was for that reason taken up by the Federalists as

Hamil-ton's
and
Jeffer-
son's
views.

Hamil-ton's and
Adams's
Views
of the
British
Constitu-tion.

**Anti-Repub-
lican
Views
of Fed-
eralist
Leaders.**

a candidate in his absence. Gouverneur Morris was also a strong monarchist and intensely hostile to the French Revolution. General Schuyler also asserted that hereditary descent was as likely to produce good magistrates as election. Alexander Hamilton on one occasion remarked that the Constitution of the United States was "a shilly shally thing, of mere milk and water, which can not last, and is only good as a step to something better." He openly declared that "there is no stability, no security, in any kind of government but a monarchy." General Knox, President Washington's Secretary of War, at the time of the President's inauguration swore that our government must be entirely new modeled or it would be knocked to pieces in less than ten years; that he would not give a copper for it as it is at present, and that the President's character, not the written Constitution, kept it together. President Washington himself was afraid that this government was fast sinking into anarchy. Said a United States Senator of that time: "Ah! things will never go right till you have a President for life and an hereditary Senate."

**Party
Views
as to the
Constitu-
tion.**

One of the points on which the two parties were now contending was the interpretation of the National Constitution. The Federalists very naturally maintained that the Constitution should be construed liberally—that is, in such a manner as to give the National government the full measure of its powers. The Republicans, or anti-federalists—the old federalists of the Constitutional Convention days—favored limiting the provisions of the Constitution, if not as far as possible, at least as far as they considered requisite to the independence of the States and of the people. Every subject introduced into Congress excited questions of Congressional powers. The organization of the government, the creation of a tariff, of a National debt and of a National bank were all argued for or against, in accordance with the various views of the work to be performed by Congress. Party spirit, by no means confined to constitutional arguments, appeared on every occasion, charging the Federalists, the party then in power, with monarchical schemes as their ends and with corrupt practices as their means, while the Republicans were accused of tendencies to intrigue, to sedition and to anarchy. The temper on both sides was so violent that there arose the cry of dissolution of the Union—when the Union had just been formed.

**Sectional
Views.**

The most threatening of all the passions so prematurely exploding were those sectional ones of the North and the South. The same division that had been observed to be greater than any other before the Constitution was framed and adopted continued to be still the greater. The subjects of dissension between the Northern and the Southern States were even greater or more absorbing than the controversies be-

tween the Federalists and the Republicans. In fact, the divisions of the two sections of the Union were rather strengthened by these two parties; the Federalists, as a rule, having their majorities in the North, while the Republicans were the majority party in the South. This was unavoidable; as the interests of Northern industry, such as shipping, commerce and manufactures, demanded from the National government a policy wholly different from the policy demanded by the interests of Southern agriculture.

Slavery was at the bottom of the great line of division between the two sections of the Union. The points of this troublesome subject were as threatening as ever, notwithstanding the compromises of the Constitution. In the very year of the organization of the National government petitions were presented to Congress by the Quakers of Pennsylvania, New Jersey and Delaware, asking for the abolition of the slave trade. Congress was powerless to interfere with this traffic for twenty years, on account of the provision relating thereto in the Constitution. Nevertheless the introduction of the subject caused a storm, as characterized by a member of Congress from Georgia, which lasted for some weeks, until the adoption of a committee's report that Congress had no authority over the slave trade, except with foreign countries, until 1808, the date prescribed by the National Constitution. The abolition of slavery in the North during the period of the Revolution, and its retention in the South in spite of the doctrine of the rights of man as enunciated in the Declaration of Independence, sowed the seeds of future dissension and National strife, Mason and Dixon's Line being the boundary between the Free States and the Slave States. The founders of the Republic from the South were themselves slave-holders, including the Revolutionary commander-in-chief and the author of the Declaration of Independence, though they freed their slaves before their deaths.

At the same time Congress expressly declared that it had no jurisdiction in the treatment or the emancipation of the slaves. In spite of this declaration of Congress an earnest Delaware Quaker sent in a petition several years later asking for the abolition of slavery. This petition was returned to its author, November, 1792. A memorial in January, 1794, from a convention of societies for the abolition of slavery, held at Philadelphia, asking Congress to take such action as the Constitution permitted against the slave trade, led to the passage of an act prohibiting the slave traffic with foreign lands. There appears to have been no opposition on the part of the Southern States to the suppression of the slave trade, and these States were all moving more or less actively in this direction, so that by 1798 this traffic was prohibited in all the States, though South Carolina revived it in 1804.

Slavery
Question.

Congress
on the
Slavery
Question.

What the South opposed only was the interference of Congress with the institution of slavery as it then existed within the limits of the United States.

**Slavery
or
Freedom
in the
Territory
Territories.**

As to slavery in the Territories of the United States the opposing theories of subsequent times were not yet distinctly formed, though there was a premonition of future dissensions on this point. It was generally agreed that Congress had no authority over the institution in the States; but it was generally maintained on one side, and by no means generally opposed on the other side, that Congress had full power over the existence of slavery or any other system in the Territories of the United States. This view was based on the clause which says: "The Congress shall have power to dispose of and make all needful rules and regulations respecting the territory or other property belonging to the United States." The same view was based also on that clause of the Constitution which declares: "New States may be admitted by the Congress into this Union." On these two clauses the opponents of slavery relied as authorizing Congress to exclude that institution from any new Territories to be organized or from any new States to be admitted into the Union.

**North-
west
Territory
as a
Prece-
dent.**

The great precedent of the North-west Territory, where slavery was expressly prohibited by the Continental Congress under the Articles of Confederation, was ratified by the first Congress under the National Constitution. The Northern men looked upon the prohibition as not only ratified, but as a precedent to be strictly followed. The Southern men were very apprehensive that it might be followed, especially as it had been proposed by a Southern man, Thomas Jefferson, to exclude slavery from all the unsettled Territories of the United States. In 1789 North Carolina had ceded her western lands, embracing what soon became the State of Tennessee, to the United States on the express condition "that no regulation made or to be made by Congress shall tend to the emancipation of the slaves."

**Starting
Point of
Future
Strife.**

This was the starting point of all future sectional strife on the slavery question. Congress might reject the proposed condition on the ground that its jurisdiction over the Territories was not to be thus hampered, or it might take the directly-opposite ground that it had no authority to impose any conditions on the Territories. If Congress took either position permanently the question of slavery in the Territories might recur at any time, but the constitutional principle on which it could be decided every time would have been established. There appears to have then been little, if any, perception of all this; not even President Washington, who was set against all sectional divisions, exerting himself to end this prolific source of sectional strife and political dissension. Congress accepted North Carolina's cession

of her western territory and in 1790 organized the ceded region into the Territory South of the Ohio.

Thomas Jefferson, Secretary of Foreign Affairs and leader of the Republican party, wrote to President Washington thus: "The confidence of the whole Union is centered in you. Your being at the helm will be more than an answer to every argument which can be used to alarm and lead the people in any quarter into violence or secession. North and South will hang together if they have you to hang on."

Jefferson's View of Washington.

Alexander Hamilton, Secretary of the Treasury and leader of the Federalist party, wrote to the honored and revered President in these words: "It is clear that a general and strenuous effort is making in every State to place the administration of the National government in the hands of its enemies, as if they were its safest guardians; that the period of the next House of Representatives is likely to prove the crisis of its permanent character; that if you continue in office nothing materially mischievous is to be apprehended—if you quit much is to be dreaded."

Hamilton's View of Washington.

Edmund Randolph, Attorney-General, a sort of leader of a middle party neither wholly Federalist nor wholly Republican, wrote as follows: "The fuel which has been already gathered for combustion wants no addition. But how awfully might it be increased were the violence which is now suspended by a universal submission to your pretensions let loose by your resignation!"

Randolph's View of Washington.

Thus urged by his three Cabinet officers, all of them leaders of different parties, Washington felt obliged to accept another term of the Presidency, and in the fall and winter of 1792-'93 the "Father of His Country" was again the unanimous choice of his countrymen and by the unanimous vote of the Electors was again chosen as the Nation's Chief Magistrate; while John Adams was again elected Vice-President.

Washington's Re-election.

The animosity of party feeling was the one thing over which President Washington had no influence, though this animosity thus far spared him. He vainly endeavored to keep the peace even in his own Cabinet. Jefferson and Hamilton were continually at sword's points until Jefferson's retirement in 1794. In Congress all was uproar, as the slightest question was sufficient to array the Northerner against the Southerner, the Federalist against the Republican.

Party Spirit.

Outside of Congress the tumult was ever on the increase, as influences were at work swelling the dissensions of the Nation with, as characterized by President Washington, "very different views, some bad, and, if I might be allowed to use so harsh an expression, diabolical." The views to which the President here alluded were those of a radical faction mainly from the Republican ranks called *Democrats*,

Democrats.

who gathered in societies modeled after the French revolutionists, and which Washington wrote "might shake the government to its foundation."

Opposition to Excise Laws.

The violent passion of the times finally manifested itself in a formidable popular insurrection. The excise upon domestic distilled spirits enacted by Congress in 1791 greatly agitated some parts of the Union where distillation had been common. So violent was the opposition to these excise laws in the interior counties of North Carolina and Pennsylvania in 1792 that the President considered it necessary to issue a proclamation, calling upon his fellow-citizens to uphold the laws. The excitement in North Carolina gradually subsided. Not so in Pennsylvania, however, where an outbreak occurred known in history as the *Whiskey Insurrection*.

Whiskey Insurrection in Pennsylvania, with Threatened Secession.

In the interior and western counties of Pennsylvania the people rose in arms in 1794, resisted the government officers sent to collect the tax, robbed the mails and committed many other outrages. In the vicinity of Pittsburg especially many acts of violence were committed. An armed mob of several thousand men was followed by a convention of more than two hundred delegates in August, 1794. Albert Gallatin, the most prominent figure in this convention, espoused the cause of law and order. Some of the delegates were merely intent on suspending the collection of the excise, while others openly menaced secession from the Union.

Its Suppression.

President Washington met the crisis by a proclamation, "warning the insurgents to desist from their opposition to the laws." At the same time he appointed commissioners to proceed to the disturbed districts and to persuade the malcontents to return peaceably to their homes. When it was found that only force, or a show of force, would quell the insurrection the President issued another proclamation announcing the march of fifteen thousand militia from Pennsylvania, New Jersey, Maryland and Virginia under his own command into the troubled region; but, as the insurgents had disappeared before the approach of the troops, he left General Henry Lee, of Virginia, the gallant Revolutionary cavalry officer and father of the renowned Confederate military chieftain in the Great Civil War seventy years later, to complete the restoration of order. Many prisoners were taken in November, 1794, but no executions followed. Washington alluded to this affair as "the contest whether a small proportion of the United States shall dictate to the whole Union."

Indian War in the West.

In the same year—1794—the United States government suppressed another serious outbreak which menaced the Nation. This was a formidable Indian uprising in the North-west Territory, in that part of that vast region embraced in the present States of Ohio and Indiana.

In the summer of 1790 the Indians north of the Ohio, encouraged by British emissaries, made an effort to recover the vast Western wilderness as far as the Ohio river. A military force of a thousand men—partly United States troops and partly Pennsylvania and Kentucky militia, were sent into the hostile Indian country in 1790.

Two detachments under Colonel Hardin, of Kentucky, were ambushed and defeated near the site of the present city of Fort Wayne, Indiana, in October, 1790; while the main body under General Harmer marched, countermarched and then retreated before the savages. In 1791 several bodies of volunteers invaded the Indian country; and late in the autumn of the same year General Arthur St. Clair led an army of two thousand troops into the same region and constructed forts for defense, but was surprised and defeated by the Indians, November 4, 1791. The years 1792 and 1793 were spent in vain efforts at peace negotiation.

Defeats
of
Generals
Harmer
and St.
Clair.

Finally, in 1794, an army of about four thousand men, under the command of General Anthony Wayne, the hero of Stony Point, was sent to subdue the hostile tribes. After passing the winter and spring in camp, Wayne marched against the Indians in the summer. After securing his rear by forts along his route, he finally overtook and completely vanquished the savages, August 20, 1794, near the site of the present Maumee City, Ohio, driving them from their posts and laying waste their fields, thus forcing them to beg for peace.

General
Wayne's
Victory
over the
Indians.

A year after his great victory over the Indians, General Wayne negotiated a treaty of peace with them at Greenville, in the present State of Ohio, August, 1795, by which the Indians ceded to the United States a vast extent of territory, August, 1795. A year later the restless Indian tribes on the south-western border who also had been at war with the whites made peace with the United States, 1796. The payment of indemnities to the Indians by the United States was an acknowledgment that the whites were more the aggressors than were the savages. Thenceforth until near the commencement of the War of 1812 with Great Britain the North-western Indians lived at peace with the United States.

Treaty of
Green-
ville
with the
Indians.

The relations of the National government with the Indians were not all warlike, and no action of Washington's administration was more creditable or more original than the policy which the President continually urged towards the Indians in supplying their needs and improving their condition. A National system of trade was adopted to protect the Indians against the frauds of white traders, and a number of laws were passed by Congress to protect them against the aggressions of frontier white settlers and to secure them in the rights granted to them by their treaties with the National government. Said Presi-

Indian
Interests.

**Washington's
Views
Thereon.**

dent Washington in a message to Congress in December, 1795: "I add with pleasure that the probability of their civilization is not diminished by the experiments which have been thus far made under the auspices of the government. The accomplishment of this work, if practicable, will reflect undying luster on our National character and administer the most grateful consolation that virtuous minds can know."

**John
Heckewelder,
the
Moravian
Missionary.**

Among the agents employed by the administration in its humane efforts to elevate the Indians was a very remarkable Moravian missionary who had spent many years in efforts to Christianize the Indians. This man was John Heckewelder, who was born in England, of German parentage, and who came to Pennsylvania in his youth, and there as early as 1771 became a Moravian missionary among the Delaware and Mohegan Indians, being a worthy successor to those other two Moravian missionaries noted for their labors in converting the Indians of Pennsylvania during the middle part of the eighteenth century—Nicholas Louis Count Zinzendorf and David Zeisberger. Heckewelder devoted his life to the conversion of the Indians, preaching the Gospel to them and writing of them to win for them the favor of the white race. In his old age he wrote: "I still indulge the hope that this work will be accomplished by a wise and benevolent government." Speaking of the Indians, in allusion to their sufferings and wrongs at the hands of the whites, Heckewelder once said: "Often I have listened to these descriptions of their hard sufferings, until I felt ashamed of being a white man."

**The
Piratical
Barbary
States
of North
Africa.**

The barbarous foes that the United States had to deal with during Washington's administration were not only the savage Indian tribes within its borders. There was a foe on the other side of the Atlantic not less barbarous—the Barbary states of Northern Africa. For several centuries these Barbary states had been in the habit of sweeping the Mediterranean sea with their piratical craft, robbing the vessels of Christian nations of their cargoes and making captives of their crews. Strange to say, the great Christian powers of Europe, instead of putting a stop to this nefarious business of the buccaneering Barbary states, paid an annual tribute to the corsairs as a bribe for the security of their commerce. In 1785 the freebooters of Algiers had captured two American vessels and carried their crews into captivity and slavery, seizing the merchandise and holding the seamen as slaves for ransom. To stop such outrages, Congress, in 1794, made appropriations for a navy. In 1795 the Dey of Algiers agreed to release his American captives and to respect American commerce in the Mediterranean upon the payment of tribute by the United States government similar to the tribute he received from the European powers. The

**Tribute
to
Algiers.**

United States agreed to this, paying a million dollars in immediate cash and promising an annual tribute of fifty thousand dollars in addition. The United States made similar treaties with the rulers of the piratical Barbary states of Tunis and Tripoli.

The relations of the United States with the civilized nations of the Old World were also very unsatisfactory. The monarchies of Europe showed very little love or respect for the infant republic of the New World, of which they knew comparatively nothing. What was of great importance to a new nation just rising out of depression and obscurity was very insignificant in the eyes of the old nations of Europe, who for centuries had been accustomed to dealing with great interests and with great resources. The relations of these European nations with the new American nation were matters of little consequence to them; but the relations of the United States to these old and great European powers absorbed the chief attention of the American people for a full quarter of a century.

Said John Quincy Adams, the son of Vice President John Adams and himself a Minister of the United States abroad during Washington's administration: "Our fathers extended the hand of friendship to every nation on the globe." The United States concluded a commercial treaty with Prussia under King Frederick the Great in 1785. Alluding to this treaty, Vice President John Adams remarked: "This consecrated three fundamental principles of foreign intercourse: First, equal reciprocity and the mutual stipulation of the commercial exchanges of peace; secondly, the abolition of private war on the ocean; and thirdly, restrictions favorable to neutral commerce upon belligerent parties with regard to contraband of war and blockades. These principles were assumed as cardinal points of the policy of the Union." But this was a policy antagonistic to the usages and prerogatives of the European powers, and therefore it did not meet with a hearty welcome from those powers, as we shall see in the course of our narrative.

One of the first of the nations of Europe to enter into settled relations with the infant republic of North America was Spain. Through its colonial authorities in Florida, that power had been supposed to be instigating the Southern Indian tribes of the United States against the American government and people; while, on the other hand, it was well known that several expeditions from the Southern and Western frontiers of the United States had been planned against the Spanish provinces of Florida and Louisiana. All this time the boundary line between Florida and the United States had been unsettled, as was the question of the navigation of the Mississippi river. Finally, Thomas Pinckney, of South Carolina, was sent to Spain as a special envoy of

the United States to adjust the questions at issue between the two nations. After almost a year's negotiation, a treaty was concluded in 1795, defining the Florida boundary and opening the Mississippi river to the commerce of the United States; but the Spaniards were not punctual in fulfilling the stipulations of a treaty in which they manifested very little interest.

**Relations
with
Great
Britain
and
France.**

Though the relations of the United States with Spain were unsatisfactory, those with Great Britain and France were in a much worse condition. It is necessary to allude to those two great nations together, as it was their common, and not their separate, interests that operated to the extent about to be described. The American people still entertained feelings of friendship for France, their recent ally, while still cherishing feelings of animosity to Great Britain, their late foe. The seeds thus planted in the war still fresh in the memories of Americans were not eradicated so easily even in a time of peace. Great Britain still manifested a spirit of veiled hostility toward the United States, maintaining troops upon the American frontiers on the north until her demands were satisfied, while at the same time she imposed restraint after restraint upon American commerce. The year 1789, which was characterized as the beginning of Washington's administration, was also signalized by the commencement of the French Revolution, the most gigantic civil and political commotion that the world has thus far seen. The early movements of the French Revolution excited the sympathy of the American people, who out of gratitude to their late ally and love for civil liberty and political equality hailed the action of the French people.

**Mutual
Recri-
mi-
na-
tions.**

There were mutual recriminations between the United States and Great Britain. The United States accused Great Britain of violating the treaty of 1783, by retaining possession of military posts in the North-west Territory and by withholding indemnification for negroes carried away at the close of the Revolution; and complaint was also made that British emissaries had excited the Indians of the North-west to hostilities against the American people; that to retaliate on France American vessels had been seized by British cruisers, and that American seamen had been impressed into the British naval service. Great Britain complained that the United States did not comply with treaty stipulations respecting the property of Tories and also in relation to the recovery of debts contracted in England before the Revolution.

**Political
Parties
and
Foreign
Relations.**

Upon the question of the foreign relations of the United States the American people were divided upon party lines. In the war between Great Britain and Revolutionary France, the Federalist party, shocked by the excesses of the French Jacobins, sided with Great Britain; while the Republican party sympathized openly with the new French Re-

public. The sentiment for Great Britain, on the one hand, was strengthened by the memories of the old days before the American Revolution when the Anglo-American colonies fought side by side with their Mother Country against her old hereditary enemy, France; while the sentiment for France was strengthened by the feeling of gratitude toward her for aiding the Americans in their struggle for independence against Great Britain.

The new impulse given to those Americans who were still disposed to love their old mother land, notwithstanding the political separation wrought by the War of American Independence, was highly stimulated by the early excesses of the French Revolution. The Americans, with their ideas of law and order, could not with unanimity side with the French Revolutionary party, who were rioters from the first and who soon became destroyers and assassins, and not freemen struggling for liberty regulated by law. As a result, many Americans hesitated, then turned with distrust and disgust from the scenes of blood and massacre of which unhappy France was the victim, and entertained kindlier feelings towards the sedater and wiser British nation. On the other hand, the Republican party in the United States, especially the faction of that party called Democrats, openly applauded not only the liberty, but also the license and bloodshed, of the French Revolution, becoming more enthusiastic and demonstrative in their sympathies as the scenes in France became wilder and bloodier. Thus the Federalists became the anti-French party, while the Republicans became the pro-French party.

Though most Americans were disposed to be simply spectators of the events transpiring in Europe, there were some, from the radical Democratic faction of the Republican party, so excited and impulsive as to be ready to go to any extremes when their idol, the French Republic, declared war against Great Britain, the late unfilial mother of the American people. The divisions of the American people and the animosities of party spirit among them arose to a dangerous point when President Washington, in his wisdom and greatness and in his solicitude to keep the United States free from the complications of European politics, issued a proclamation of neutrality, declaring it to be the duty and interest of the people of the United States to observe a perfectly-neutral attitude toward the European struggle, April 22, 1793. Said the President in this proclamation: "The duty and interest of the United States require that they should with sincerity and good faith adopt and pursue a conduct friendly and impartial towards the belligerent powers."

This proclamation was a memorable act in American history, and its purpose has not always been properly estimated. The new American

Effect of
Excesses
of the
French
Revolu-
tion.

President
Washing-
ton's
Procla-
mation
of Neu-
trality.

Its
Wisdom.

nation was tasked to its utmost by a number of serious trials. It was obliged to subdue a formidable league of Indian tribes, to suppress lawless elements within its own borders, to pay tribute to Algiers and to keep the Spaniards to their treaty obligations, and was not, therefore, in a position to enter safely as a combatant into the gigantic struggle which was shaking Europe to its very foundations. Were such a thing attempted, it might jeopardize the very national independence that so recently had been achieved after a mighty expenditure of blood and treasure. There were two risks in taking such a momentous step. One of these risks was that the United States would be a subordinate ally in such a foreign war. The other risk was a still greater one—the danger of a civil war within its own borders, aroused by the passions engendered by such a foreign war. Washington's object in issuing his neutrality proclamation was, as he said, "to keep the United States free."

**Genet's
Mission
and His
Conduct.**

Matters soon came to a severe test. The French Republic, after arousing a general coalition of European crowned heads against itself by decapitating its dethroned king, Louis XVI., sent M. Genet as its Minister to the United States. As an enthusiastic representative of the new republic on the other side of the Atlantic to the new republic on this side of the same ocean, M. Genet aroused fresh enthusiasm in the pro-French party in the United States. He was feasted at Charleston, South Carolina, where he landed in April, 1793, and at all the other principal towns in the Southern States along his route northward to Philadelphia, the National capital. Such welcome receptions led him to conclude that the whole American people were ready to sustain him in any course that he might pursue. At Charleston he fitted out privateers to prey upon the commerce of Great Britain, Spain and Holland, against which nations Republican France had declared war, and he also ordered that the prizes taken by these privateers should be tried and condemned by the French consuls in the United States.

**His Bold
Decision
and
Action.**

Genet's conduct was a plain violation of the treaty of commerce between France and the United States. Though this treaty provided that the privateers and prizes of the French should be admitted to the American ports, it did not provide for the commissioning of privateers or the condemnation of prizes by French consuls within the jurisdiction of the United States. And he soon found that he had no unanimous people to sustain him, while he must deal with a united government, which was determined to put a check to his unwarranted assumptions. Therefore, when he arrived at Philadelphia he was at once made aware of the stand of the United States government in relation to his conduct. Instead of quietly subsiding, Genet showed fight in his attitude toward the government to which he was accredited. He made

a resolute stand for his privateers and his consular courts, appealing from the President to Congress and the American people and trying to arouse the people against their governmmt, thus setting his supporters and his opponents bitterly at variance.

The Republican, or pro-French party in the United States now openly advocated war against Great Britain. Said Vice President John Adams: "Marat, Robespierre, Brissot and the Mountain were the constant themes of panegyric and the daily toasts at table. * * * Washington's house was surrounded by an innumerable multitude from day to day, huzzaing, demanding war against England, cursing Washington and crying, 'Success to the French patriots and virtuous republicans.' Frederick Augustus Muhlenberg, the Speaker of the House of Representatives, toasted publicly, 'The Mountain, may it be a pyramid that shall reach the skies?'"

One day Washington exclaimed in great excitement: "I had rather be in my grave than in my present situation." However, the President was more than equal to his duty; and in August, 1793, with the support of his Cabinet, he requested the French Republic to recall its imprudent Minister. As the Girondist party in France, which had sent Genet on his mission, had fallen before the sanguinary Jacobins, the latter very readily heeded the President's request and sent M. Fauchet as its Minister to the United States in place of M. Genet.

But the difficulties were too deep-seated and complicated to be adjusted by a mere change of Ministers. The French Republic had pronounced against American neutrality indirectly by ordering that neutral vessels carrying goods belonging to her enemies should be captured, May 1, 1793; after which an embargo was laid upon the shipping at Bordeaux; both of which measures were a direct violation of the treaty between France and the United States.

But the utmost that France did in the violation of American neutrality was very little in comparison with Great Britain's conduct in the same direction. France had ordered the goods of any of her enemies liable to capture on the high seas. In retaliation, Great Britain now ordered the goods of a neutral power, if consisting of provisions for her enemy, to be captured on the high seas or purchased, unless shipped to a friendly port, June, 1793. Afterward Great Britain ordered that all vessels laden with the produce of a French colony or with supplies for the same, if taken, were lawful prizes, November, 1793; but this arbitrary decree was modified by Great Britain in January, 1794.

But the worst of all British aggressions upon the high seas, from which Americans were especially the sufferers on account of the similarity of language and appearance of Britons and Americans, was the right claimed by Great Britain to search neutral vessels for sus-

Warlike Attitude of the Pro-French Party.

Genet's Recall.

French Violation of American Neutrality.

British Violation of American Neutrality.

British Search and Impression of American Seamen.

pected deserters from the British navy and to impress into her naval service all seamen of British birth, wherever found; Great Britain, like the other European nations, then denying the right of any of her subjects to renounce their allegiance to their native country and to become the citizens or subjects of another nation. In accordance with her search and impressment doctrine, British cruisers would stop the ships of the United States, search them and seize their crews; and, as a result, very frequently Americans sailors, as well as British naval deserters, were the victims of British search and impressment. These proceedings aroused a thrill of indignation and defiance throughout the United States and finally threatened an open rupture between the two nations.

**Views of
British
Rulers.**

Great Britain's course in this particular admits of ready explanation. Her rulers considered the Americans merely a commercial people who were contributing to her enemy's resources. President Washington was informed from London that the British government was certain that in the United States "there was a party so decidedly in the British sentiment that bearing and forbearing would be carried to any length."

**Threat-
ened War
with
Great
Britain.**

But British statesmen were mistaken, as even the Federalist, or anti-French party in the United States were earnest in sustaining the necessity of preparations for defensive war with Great Britain. Congress voted a temporary embargo upon American ports in March, 1794, for the purpose of suspending commercial intercourse. The House of Representatives passed an act prohibiting all trade with Great Britain and her colonies until she redressed the wrongs which she had committed, but the act was defeated in the Senate by the Vice President's casting vote, April, 1794. The pro-French party was ready for further action, but the anti-French Federalists were prepared to resist it. Had President Washington expressed himself in favor of war with Great Britain war certainly would have resulted, such was the temper of the American people at the time.

**Jay's
Mission.**

Thomas Jefferson, Secretary of Foreign Affairs, had recently resigned his position in Washington's Cabinet, thus leaving his great personal and political opponent, Alexander Hamilton, as the head of the Cabinet. As the leading member of his administration, President Washington would have assigned Hamilton the special mission which it was proposed to send to Great Britain. But, as an extreme Federalist, Hamilton was not so acceptable to the great majority of Congress and of the Nation as to be entrusted with a mission which was itself distrusted and unacceptable. Therefore, the President selected Chief Justice John Jay for this special service—a far more appropriate choice than the selection of Hamilton would have been. The great Federalist leader would have been the representative of a party rather than of the

Nation, as he was always a party man whether in or out of office. But the Chief Justice, though a Federalist, was not a partisan. Of all the great men of the time, Jay was perhaps the only one that, with Washington, held himself aloof from the tarnishes and collisions of the two great opposing parties. He was the man most fit to unite with Washington to rescue the Nation from its threatening perils.

Accordingly, Jay went on his mission to England; and, after some months of anxious diplomacy, he was successful in negotiating a treaty which provided for the adjustment of the matters in dispute between the two nations, November, 1794. By this treaty the United States agreed to indemnify their British creditors; while Great Britain consented to surrender the military posts which she had held so long in the Northwest, the surrender to take effect June 1, 1795. Great Britain also promised to indemnify the victims of her system of search and impressment; but the system, though partially modified, was by no means renounced. Great Britain also made a few concessions to the claims of American commerce, but she still maintained her rigid policy, especially in relation to her colonial trade. At any rate, the treaty did not recognize the rights of Americans as neutrals or their privileges as traders, both of which were matters of the highest importance to their commercial interests. However, the earlier subjects of dispute were adjusted, and the later ones were somewhat smoothed over. Though both Jay and Washington did not look upon the treaty as fully satisfactory, they both regarded it as better than war; and the United States Senate, convened in special session in June, 1795, advised the ratification of the treaty.

Jay's Treaty.

But the Nation at large took a different view and violently opposed ratification. Public meetings were held in every part of the United States, at which violent harangues were delivered, denunciatory resolutions were adopted, copies of the treaty were destroyed and Chief Justice Jay was burned in effigy. The French tricolor and the Stars and Stripes were enthusiastically displayed together on these occasions, while the British Union Jack was dragged through the dirt and burned before the residence of the British Minister in Philadelphia.

Violent Popular Opposition.

Instead of intimidating the National government, all this violent opposition had the opposite effect. President Washington wrote: "I have never, since I have been in the administration of the government, seen a crisis which is pregnant with more interesting events, nor one from which more is to be apprehended." He afterwards asked: "Did the treaty with Great Britain surrender any right of which the United States had been in possession? Did it make any change or alteration in the law of nations, under which Great Britain had acted in defiance of all the powers of Europe? If none of these, why all this

Ratification of the Treaty.

farrago?" The Republican, or pro-French party were of course the active leaders in all this violent agitation. The Federalists, as friends of the treaty, stayed in the background at first, but soon rallied to the President's support, assuring him and his administration of the Nation's unabated confidence in him. At the same time, Edmund Randolph, Jefferson's successor as Secretary of Foreign Affairs, being suspected of intrigue with the French Minister at Philadelphia, resigned, thus producing a reaction against the pro-French influence and partisanship. With the advice of the President's Cabinet, the Senate ratified the treaty, August, 1795.

**Virginia's
Opposi-
tion
to the
Treaty.**

The ratification of the treaty did not end popular opposition. The Legislature of the President's own State approved of the stand of the United States Senators from that State against the treaty and defeated a resolution expressing undiminished confidence in him and his administration. Virginia—being strongly Republican and consequently strongly pro-French and anti-British, thus following her two other distinguished sons, the great orator of the Revolution and the author of the Declaration of Independence, rather than the distinguished chief commander of the Revolutionary armies—was so extreme in her opposition to the treaty that her Legislature went so far in its wrath as to propose an amendment of the National Constitution requiring the assent of the National House of Representatives as essential to the ratification of a treaty with a foreign power, November, 1795.

**Opposi-
tion in
Congress.**

Virginia's example, in thus turning her back upon her distinguished son to whom she had thus far clung with a mother's pride, was reflected in the National House of Representatives, where the phrase of "undiminished confidence" was stricken from an address of the House to the President, December, 1795. During the course of the session a bitter struggle ensued concerning the bills for carrying the treaty into effect. The foes of the treaty endeavored to obtain the papers relating to the treaty, on the plea that the House had the power to consent to or refuse to execute the stipulations of the treaty. After a three weeks' discussion, the House called upon the President for the specified documents. As the President and his Cabinet were of the opinion that the House had exceeded its powers, the request of the House was refused. The Republican leaders in the House then exerted themselves to defeat the bills on which the execution of the treaty depended. After a fortnight's debate, in which Fisher Ames, of Massachusetts, was the most prominent defender of the treaty, the House, by a bare majority, passed the bills providing for the execution of the treaty, March and April, 1796.

**Neu-
trality
Principle
Estab-
lished.**

Thus ended the great event of Washington's administration. The course of his administration followed exactly the principles upon which

he entered office. In the face of the two great political parties that divided the American people, in the face of their feelings and their relations to Great Britain and France, the President perceived but one alternative—peace or war. This dread alternative was not peace or war with foreigners alone, but also at home between two sections of the American people themselves. The dangers and interests involved in the decision have been fully portrayed. The President's proclamation of neutrality was the first step. The treaty with Great Britain was the second step and the last so far. The point thus gained may be considered the starting point of the foreign policy of the United States—that of neutrality in the concerns of other nations not affecting American interests. President Washington himself alluded to this subject as follows:

“ My ardent desire is, and my aim has been, to keep the United States free from political connections with every other country, to see them independent of all and under the influence of none. In a word, I want an American character, that the powers of Europe may be convinced we act for ourselves and not for others. This, in my judgment, is the only way to be respected abroad and happy at home; and not, by becoming the partisans of Great Britain or France, create dissensions, disturb the public tranquillity, and destroy, perhaps forever, the cement which binds the Union.”

Foreign aggressions on the part of Great Britain and Revolutionary France toward the United States continued even after the ratification of Jay's Treaty. Concerning this state of affairs, Washington wrote: “ This government, in relation to France and England, may be compared to a ship between Scylla and Charybdis.” As the pro-French party in the United States and the American Minister to France, James Monroe, of Virginia, were offended at the treaty with Great Britain, it was naturally to be expected that the French Republic itself would be incensed thereat. In February, 1796, the French government informed Minister Monroe that it considered France's alliance with the United States terminated, assigning as its chief reason the treaty of the United States with Great Britain; but its subsequent list of grievances enumerated all the measures by which American neutrality had been sustained.

To show their earnestness, the French authorities, in July, 1796, in addition to their previous orders of capture and embargo, decreed that neutral vessels be treated precisely as they were treated by Great Britain—that is, that such vessels be stopped, searched and seized upon the high seas. This action was afterward made known to the United States government by a communication from the French envoy, M. Adet, in October, 1796; and the envoy went so far as to appeal to the

Washington's Statement Thereon.

Continued Foreign Aggressions.

France Incensed.

French Aggressions.

American people to take sides with France and against Great Britain in the war, November, 1796. To improve the relations of the United States with France, President Washington had sent Charles Cotesworth Pickney, of South Carolina, to France as the American Minister there in place of Monroe, September, 1796. But Minister Pickney was refused an audience by the French Directory, December, 1796, and was even ordered to leave France, February, 1797.

Bitter Party Spirit.

The two parties in the United States—Federalist and Republican, pro-French and anti-French—that distracted the Nation were never before so bitter toward each other. President Washington wrote: "Until within the last year or two I had no idea that parties would, or even could, go to the length I have been witness to." Congress was a constant battle-ground between the parties. The Federal party was falling into a minority in the House of Representatives and was in danger of losing its majority in the Senate also. Newspapers, especially those of Philadelphia, carried the hostile notes from Congress to the people and echoed them back to Congress. It is difficult to convey an idea of the virulence of political writing at that time. Statesmanship gave way to partisanship, love of country to hatred of countrymen. All this rendered the course of the administration doubtful and dangerous, while demonstrating its wisdom and its concern for the general public welfare.

Washington Assailed.

President Washington and his administration were objects of the fiercest assault. The President wrote with natural indignation of the abuse which he had been subjected to, calling himself "no party man" and saying of this abuse "and that, too, in such exaggerated and indecent terms as could scarcely be applied to a Nero, a notorious defaulter or even to a common pickpocket."

His Farewell Address.

In the midst of these hostile attacks upon him by the Republican party, Washington issued his immortal *Farewell Address* to the people of the United States, September 17, 1796, in which he made a strong and earnest plea for the Union of the States and an equally-earnest admonition against the violence of party spirit, a thing which he said ought not to be encouraged.

The Two-Term President.

In consequence of the prevailing bitter party spirit, the Presidential campaign of 1796 was an exciting one. Washington would not accept a third term, thus setting an example which ever since has been accepted as the precedent of two terms as the limit for any individual to hold that high office; and the precedent has been strictly adhered to ever since, becoming an "unwritten law" of the Republic. The Federalist candidate for President in 1796 was John Adams, and the Republican nominee was Thomas Jefferson. Adams was elected President, and Jefferson was chosen Vice President.

Election of John Adams.

Congress assembled soon afterward and showed that many of its members were politically unfriendly to the retiring President, during whose wise administration the machinery of the National government had been put in motion. When an address of grateful acknowledgment was proposed in the House of Representatives, a man from the President's State, William Branch Giles, took exception to the more expressive passages, saying: "If I stand alone in my opinion, I will declare that I am not convinced that the administration of the government for these six years has been wise and firm. I do not regret the President's retiring from office." A number of others assumed the same attitude as Giles; and among them was Andrew Jackson, of Tennessee, December, 1796.

Abuse of Washington in Congress.

The President wrote of himself in January, 1797: "Although he is soon to become a private citizen, his opinions are to be knocked down and his character reduced as low as they are capable of sinking it." Two months afterward, in the last hours of his administration, he said: "To the weary traveler, who sees a resting place and is bending his body to lean thereon, I now compare myself; but to be suffered to do this in peace is too much to be endured by some."

Washington's Complaint.

Thus Washington finally retired to private life, having done greater things at the head of the government than he had done at the head of the army; and, although he left the Nation distracted with party passion, as he had found it, he also left it with a Constitution in operation, with principles and laws for its action, and on the road to progress and development, a condition in which he had not found it. The day before his retirement from office he thus expressed himself: "I can never believe that Providence, which has guided us so long and through such a labyrinth, will withdraw its protection at this crisis."

His Retirement.

In May, 1796, Washington, not as President, but simply as an American, had written a "private letter" to the Emperor Francis II. of Germany, "to recommend Lafayette to the mediation of humanity" and "to entreat that he may be permitted to come to this country." The effect of this appeal is unknown, but Lafayette was liberated soon afterward.

His Plea for Lafayette.

Mr. Adams was inaugurated on the 4th of March, 1797, as second President of the United States. On account of the unfriendly character of the relations between the United States and France, the President summoned Congress to meet in extra session on the 15th of May following. In July, 1797, he appointed Charles Cotesworth Pinckney, of South Carolina; John Marshall, of Virginia, and Elbridge Gerry, of Massachusetts, as envoys to France for the adjustment of all difficulties. The French government refused to receive them until they should pay a large sum of money into the French treasury. This insolent

President John Adams, A. D. 1797-1801.

Mission to France and Its Failure.

demand was refused with indignation; and two of the envoys, Messrs. Pinckney and Marshall, who were Federalists, left France in April, 1798; while Mr. Gerry, who was a Republican, remained at his post a few months longer, after which he also returned home.

**Its
Effect
in the
United
States.**

Even before the return of Messrs. Pinckney and Marshall the intelligence of their treatment and the demand upon them for money had caused intense excitement throughout the United States, and the whole land rang with the cry: "Millions for defense, but not one cent for tribute." The Republicans taunted the Federalists with the failure which they had predicted for the missions to France. The Federalists inveighed bitterly against the venality of the French government, some even favoring a declaration of war. President Adams was disposed to side with his party, and he advised Congress to put the Nation in a state of defense, March, 1798.

**Prepara-
tions for
War with
France.**

The President's recommendation was instantly opposed by the Republican leaders, Vice President Jefferson among them. The Vice President even accused the President of aiming at a dissolution of the Union or at the establishment of a monarchy in the United States. The President was sustained in his course by his Federalist followers, who carried a series of measures through Congress providing for the organization of a provisional army and a naval department for the more efficient management of the existing navy, May, 1798. President Adams, as commander-in-chief of the army and navy of the United States, issued orders directing American ships to seize all French armed vessels engaged in hostile acts against American shipping and authorizing American merchantmen to arm themselves and capture French vessels which assailed them on the high seas. But, for the purpose of avoiding hostilities as much as possible, the President issued an order prohibiting commercial intercourse with France and her colonies, June, 1798. In July, 1798, ex-President Washington was appointed commander in-chief of the provisional army of the United States, and the Nation was fairly in arms.

**Short
Naval
War
with
France.**

Hostilities ensued on the ocean between American and French vessels, though war was not formally declared. The United States Congress declared its treaties with France void and also authorized President Adams to send out United States warships and to commission privateers for the purpose of capturing French armed ships whether engaged in hostilities or not, July, 1798. American vessels at once overran the seas and captured French privateers or drove them away from the coasts of the United States. Early in 1799 the American schooner *Retaliation* was captured by the French frigate *L'Insurgente*; but the *L'Insurgente* was afterward captured by the American frigate *Constellation*, commanded by Commodore Truxtun, February, 1799.

Hostilities were continued mainly by privateers, and the chief results of this short naval war were the profits of the owners of these privateers. But the war pleased the Federalist party, which favored it. In after years President John Adams exclaimed concerning it: "A glorious and triumphant war it was! The proud pavilion of France was humiliated!"

To provide ways and means for the prosecution of the brief war with France, Congress imposed stamp duties and taxes on houses and slaves, in addition to the loans that were obtained. To keep down party opposition two very unpopular acts were passed by Congress and approved by President Adams, and these were a severe strain upon the Nation and greatly weakened the Federalist party. These acts were the *Alien and Sedition Laws*, passed in June and July, 1798. The Alien Law authorized the President to banish all aliens who were suspected of conspiracy or whose presence he might deem dangerous to the Republic. The Sedition Law imposed fine and imprisonment as penalties for all conspiracies against governmental authority and authorized the suppression of publications which tended to weaken the authority of the National government—conspiracies and publications "with intent to excite any unlawful combination for opposing or resisting any law of the United States or any lawful act of the President."

The Alien Law was evidently a party maneuver, as many of the most ardent spirits in the Republican party, especially in the Democratic faction of that party, were aliens. Both acts were only temporary, the Alien Law to remain in force for two years and the Sedition Law till the end of Adams's administration, March 4, 1801. The Alien Law was never enforced, but the Sedition Law was repeatedly put in operation and nearly always on party grounds.

These two acts encountered the most violent opposition from the Republican party, the party opposed to the administration and the war with France. The Republican party was strongest in the South and West; and its leaders there threw down the gauntlet of defiance to the Federalists, and even to the National government, as exemplified in the *Kentucky and Virginia Resolutions of 1798*. In November, 1798, the Kentucky Legislature, in resolutions drawn up for that body by Vice President Jefferson, declared the Alien and Sedition Laws "not law, but altogether void and of no force." A month later—December, 1798—the Virginia Legislature, in resolutions drafted by James Madison, pronounced these two obnoxious laws "palpable and alarming infractions of the Constitution."

But both sets of resolutions were still stronger when they came from the hands of their distinguished authors. Jefferson had written

**Alien
and
Sedition
Laws.**

**Their
Purpose
and
Enforce-
ment.**

**Kentucky
and
Virginia
Resolu-
tions of
1798.**

**Jefferson's
and
Madison's
Views.**

thus: "Where powers are assumed which have not been delegated, a nullification of the act is the right remedy, and every State has a natural right, in cases not within the compact [the Constitution], to nullify of their own authority all assumptions of power by others within their limits." Madison—who, unlike his fellow Virginians, Jefferson and Patrick Henry, had been a strong friend and advocate of the adoption of the National Constitution—stated that "in case of a deliberate, palpable and dangerous exercise of other powers not granted by the compact, the States, who are the parties thereto, have the right, and are in duty bound, to interpose for correcting the progress of the evil, and for maintaining, within their respective limits, the authorities, rights and liberties appertaining to them." He had made his resolutions declare the two unpopular acts "null, void and of no force or effect."

**Action
of Other
States.**

Still neither Kentucky nor Virginia went to the full lengths prescribed for them in the way of nullification; but they went to lengths sufficient to arouse very general opposition from other States in the Union, especially from the Middle and Northern States, where one Legislature after another put forth strong resolutions and declarations denying the right of any State to set itself up in judgment against the National government and to assume the right to nullify any act of the National Congress, thus taking open ground against the extreme State Rights attitude on the question of nullification.

**Another
Mission
to France.**

In the midst of this agitation over the powers of Nation and State, President Adams appointed another mission to France, consisting of William Vans Murray, of Maryland; Oliver Ellsworth, of Connecticut, Chief Justice of the United States Supreme Court from 1796 to 1800; and William Richardson Davie, of North Carolina, February, 1799. The President assigned as a reason for this fresh effort at negotiation the assurance that he had received, through the United States Minister to the Batavian Republic, of the French government's readiness to treat with a new mission.

**The
Presi-
dent's
Sus-
pected
Motives.**

The noise over these new envoys was tremendous, especially among the more active Federalists, and even among the leading members of the President's Cabinet, as Timothy Pickering, of Massachusetts, Secretary of State, and Oliver Wolcott, of Massachusetts, Secretary of the Treasury. The President was suspected of urging the mission, in some measure, to revenge himself upon his own party, considering himself badly treated by his fellow Federalists, at least by the more extreme among them. He afterwards wrote thus: "The British faction was determined to have a war with France, and Alexander Hamilton at the head of the army, and then President of the United States. Peace with France was therefore treason."

The newly-appointed American envoys arrived in France early in the year 1800. But when they arrived there they found the weak Directory was no more, having been overthrown by Napoleon Bonaparte, who was now at the head of the French Republic as First Consul. After some trouble the envoys succeeded in concluding a treaty with France's new master providing partly for mutual redress, but leaving questions at issue between the two nations open for future adjustment, October, 1799. The United States Senate modified the provision for additional negotiations, to which France agreed on condition that the American claims for indemnities should be abandoned. But soon large claims for French spoliations were presented to the United States government. The treaty, however, restored peace.

Peace
Treaty
with
France.

Spain, as well as France, had been offended by Jay's Treaty with Great Britain. The old troubles about Florida, especially the one relating to the boundary between that province and the United States, continued. Spain accused Americans of designs against her province of Louisiana, while the United States accused Spaniards of designs against the American portion of the Mississippi Valley. Thus there were mutual recriminations and suspicions.

Trouble
with
Spain.

That part of the old West Florida domain held by the United States and also claimed by Georgia was organized as the Mississippi Territory in 1798, constituting the southern halves of the present States of Alabama and Mississippi. This organization aroused a discussion in Congress concerning slavery, which the organizing act did not prohibit in the Territory. In this case there was no plea like the one which had existed in the case of the Territory South of the Ohio. No cession from a State, no conditions laid any restraint upon Congress. Nevertheless, only twelve votes were cast in favor of an amendment offered by George Thacher, of Massachusetts, prohibiting slavery in the Territory. Congress would not agree to any more than to forbid the importation of slaves from abroad; which was a concession, as the National Constitution permitted the slave trade until 1808. Thus, for the second time—and this time without a requirement by terms with any State—the National government gave its decision in favor of slavery.

Missis-
sippi
Territory
and
Slavery.

In 1800 Congress divided the North-west Territory by organizing the new Indiana Territory; the North-west Territory thus being cut down to the limits of the present State of Ohio; and Indiana Territory constituting the immense region comprised by the present States of Indiana, Illinois, Michigan and Wisconsin and the north-eastern part of Minnesota. Slavery was already prohibited in the domain comprised by the vast new Territory, in accordance with the Ordinance of 1787, as passed by the Continental Congress in the closing period of

Indiana
Territory
and
Slavery.

the old Confederation. As this ordinance was against the fancied interests of the inhabitants of the Indiana Territory, they petitioned Congress twice to tolerate slavery in the new Territory, once in 1803 and again in 1807. Once a committee of Congress reported against the petition, but twice reports in favor of the petition were made. Nevertheless, reports and petitions were fruitless, as Congress absolutely refused to authorize slavery where it already had been expressly prohibited.

**Fries's
Rebellion
in Penn-
sylvania.**

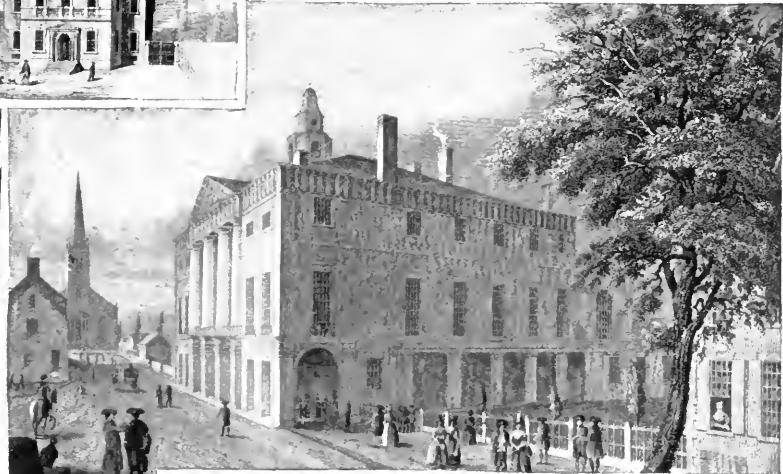
Early in John Adams's administration the National government imposed the so-called "house tax," requiring the assessors to measure and register the panes of glass in windows. This tax was regarded as tyrannical by the German people of Pennsylvania in the counties north and north-west of Philadelphia, and these people forcibly resisted the assessors. Their leader was John Fries, a soldier of the Revolution, from which circumstances the insurrection was called *Fries's Rebellion*. From the fact that the women in certain localities poured hot water on the assessors, the outbreak was also named the *Hot Water Rebellion*. For several months John Fries, with a plumed hat on his head, armed with a sword and a pistol, accompanied by his little dog "Whisky" and about sixty armed men, proceeded from one place to another, arousing the Pennsylvania German population by his violent harangues on the injustice of the "house tax." At length twelve of his followers were arrested by a United States marshal and confined in the Sun Inn at Bethlehem. In March, 1799, Fries appeared before the inn and forced the marshal to release his prisoners. By order of President Adams, Governor Thomas Mifflin then called out the Pennsylvania militia; and Fries, betrayed by his little dog "Whisky," was captured in a swamp south of Allentown. He was tried in Philadelphia for high treason, convicted and sentenced to death, but pardoned by President Adams.

**Death
of Wash-
ington.**

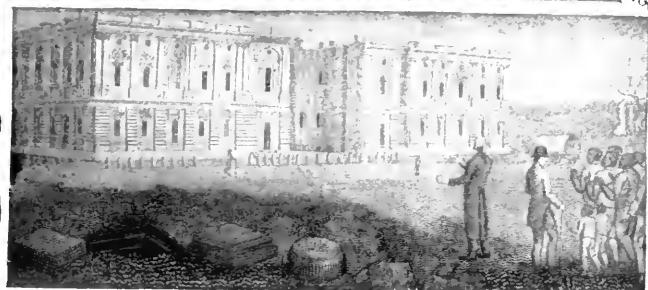
At the close of 1799 the Nation was called upon to mourn the loss of the illustrious Washington, who died at his home at Mt. Vernon on the 14th of December, 1799. His last service to his country had been the organization of the provisional army against France, of which he had been appointed the commander-in-chief. The violent party passions of the time had affected the serenity of his declining years, but beside his grave his fellow-countrymen stood united for the moment. General Henry Lee, of Virginia—the great American cavalry commander in the South during the Revolution and the father of the great Confederate General Robert E. Lee in the Civil War—delivered the funeral oration and uttered a sentiment concerning the Father of His Country which has become immortal, representing him as "First in war, first in peace and first in the hearts of his countrymen."



CARPENTERS HALL
THE PLACE OF FIRST CONGRESS



CAPITOL OF THE UNITED STATES
AFTER THE CONFLAGRATION
IN 1814



THE CAPITOL
AT
WASHINGTON
D.C.

CAPITOL BUILDINGS OF THE UNITED STATES

"Disturb not his slumbers, let Washington sleep,
 'Neath the boughs of the willow that over him weep;
 His arm is unnerved, but his deeds remain bright,
 As the stars of the dark vaulted heaven at night.
 Oh! wake not the hero, his battles are o'er,
 Let him rest undisturbed on Potomac's fair shore;
 On the river's green border with rich flowers dressed,
 With the hearts he loved fondly, let Washington rest.

"Awake not his slumbers, tread lightly around;
 'Tis the grave of a freeman—'tis Liberty's mound;
 Thy name is immortal—our freedom is won—
 Brave sire of Columbia, our own Washington.
 Oh! wake not the hero, his battles are o'er,
 Let him rest, calmly rest, on his dear native shore;
 While the stars and the stripes of our country shall wave
 O'er the land that can boast of a Washington's grave."

In the summer of 1800 the seat of the government of the United States was removed from Philadelphia to the new city of Washington, in the District of Columbia; this District being a tract twelve miles square on both sides of the Potomac, ceded to the United States in 1790 by the States of Maryland and Virginia, and the portion on the western side of the river being retroceded to Virginia by the United States in 1846.

Washington City,
the
National Capital.

In conversation President Adams remarked with some warmth concerning his opponents: "You see that an elective government will not do." He also said: "Republicanism must be disgraced, sir." A prominent man of the time remarked that the best thing the French could do was to pray for the restoration of their monarch; whereupon another remarked: "Then the best thing we could do, I suppose, would be to pray for the establishment of monarchy in the United States." The other then replied: "Our people are not yet ripe for it, but it is the best thing we can come to, and we shall come to it."

Views of
Adams
and
Others.

In conversation with Jefferson, President Adams also remarked that no republic could ever last which had not a Senate, and a Senate deeply and strongly rooted, strong enough to bear up against all popular storms and passions; that it was the merest chimera imaginable to trust to a popular assembly for the preservation of our liberties; that anarchy did more mischief in one night than tyranny in an age, and that anarchy had done more harm to France in one night than all the despotism of her kings had ever done in twenty or thirty years. President Adams made the following remark about labor:

Other
Remarks
of Adams

"When the workingmen are paid in return for their labor only as much money as will buy them the necessities of life their condition is identical with that of the slave who receives those necessities at first

His
Remark
about
Labor.

hand. The former we call ‘ free men ’ and the latter ‘ slaves,’ but the difference is imaginary only.”

St. Andrew's Club. Early in 1800 the St. Andrew’s Club of New York—all Scotch Tories—gave a public dinner; and Alexander Hamilton was one of the guests. After dinner the first toast was: “The President of the United States.” It was drunk without particular approbation. The next toast was: “George the Third.” Hamilton arose and insisted on a bumper and three cheers, whereupon the entire company rose and gave three cheers with a will.

Election of Jefferson. In 1800 the Federalists nominated John Adams and Charles Cotesworth Pinckney for the Presidency, while the Republicans nominated Thomas Jefferson and Aaron Burr. This time the Republican party was successful; but, as Jefferson and Burr each had the same number of votes, the election was carried to the House of Representatives, when, after thirty-five ballottings, Jefferson was chosen President, and Burr was declared to be elected Vice President.

Fall of the Federalists. The election of 1800 reduced the Federalist party to a hopeless minority. The Federalists had done more for the Republic than they had done for themselves. During Washington’s administration they had upheld his great measures and originated great measures of their own; but during John Adams’s administration they had wasted their strength in quarreling with him or among themselves, and, as a matter of course, his defeat and theirs followed. Their fall was their own work more than it was the work of their political opponents. They had started as the great conservative and aristocratic party, and continually they had shown a distrust of the people that was certain to drive them from power before very long. The daughter of Theodore Sedgwick, one of their most distinguished leaders, said that her father constantly alluded to the masses of the American people as “Jacobins and miscreants,” and many other Federalist leaders indulged in similar expressions. Strange to say, the party of the National Constitution—the party which founded the National government—was unable to administer that government; but the qualities that fitted it for the one work may have unfitted it for the other work. John Adams, the Federalist, and Thomas Jefferson, the Republican, both had been identified with the independence and organization of the Nation, and both were highly qualified as statesmen for the Presidency.

President Jefferson, A. D. 1801-1809. Mr. Jefferson was inaugurated as the third President of the United States on the 4th of March, 1801. In his inaugural address he expressed the conviction that this is the strongest government on the face of the earth and showed his confidence in the rule of the people, at the same time expressing conciliatory sentiments toward his Federalist opponents, saying: “We are all Republicans; we are all

Federalists." He commenced the administration of public affairs with great vigor and ability, and his political foes acknowledged his great wisdom and sound judgment. He made a few changes in the appointive offices, removing Federalist incumbents to make place for his Republican associates. Among the many sayings attributed to President Jefferson was one in which he said that a rebellion in a republic every twenty years was a good thing, as it kept alive the spirit of liberty.

On November 29, 1802, Ohio was admitted into the family of States, forming the seventeenth of the Union and being the first commonwealth carved out of the great North-west Territory and the first of the new States of the West that was admitted into the Union as a Free State.

The most important event of Jefferson's administration was the great expansion of the domain of the United States by the purchase of the immense French territory of Louisiana, then extending from the Mississippi river westward to the Rocky Mountains, and from the Gulf of Mexico and the Spanish province of Mexico, or New Spain, northward to the British American possessions. As we have seen, France had claimed and occupied this vast region by virtue of the explorations of the Mississippi Valley by the French explorers in the seventeenth century and had named it in honor of King Louis XIV. By the Peace of Paris in 1763, which closed the Seven Years' War, France had ceded all her territory east of the Mississippi river to Great Britain, and all that part west of that "Great Father of Waters," under the name of Louisiana, to Spain. In 1800 Spain retroceded this vast Louisiana territory to France, after holding possession of that vast territorial domain for thirty-seven years.

Before retiring from Louisiana the Spanish authorities had excluded the citizens of the United States from New Orleans as a depot for the trade of the Western States, thus closing the mouth of the Mississippi against American commerce; and the French authorities in the retroceded province were suspected of entertaining similar designs. The seizure of New Orleans by the United States was proposed in the United States Senate; but this extreme course gave way to schemes for the purchase of Louisiana by the United States, entertained and carried out to a successful conclusion by President Jefferson. Left to his own counsels, the President instructed his special envoys to France—James Monroe, of Virginia, and Robert R. Livingston, of New York—to purchase that part of Louisiana which included New Orleans; but, as Napoleon Bonaparte, then First Consul of the French Republic, was disposed to sell the whole province, the American envoys bought the entire territory for fifteen million dollars, April 30, 1803.

Admission of Ohio.

Acquisition of Louisiana.

Its Previous History.

The Mississippi Closed to American Commerce.

Purchase of Louisiana.

Jefferson's Assumption of Power.

President Jefferson admitted this to be "an act beyond the Constitution" and suggested a Constitutional amendment which should justify it. Theoretically, the Federalists had advocated increasing the authority of the National government, while the Republicans had made a stand to check such increase of National power; but, practically, this chief event of Jefferson's administration implied a disposition on the part of the great Republican leader to stretch the powers of the general government, particularly the authority of the executive branch of that government, away beyond the Federalist theories. The Federalists opposed the purchase of this vast territory simply because it was a Republican measure, while the Republicans themselves were divided on the subject; and party feeling was intensified. The extension of slavery by the annexation of territory containing almost thirty thousand slaves was lost sight of. The great importance of the acquisition of Louisiana involved in securing the navigation of the Mississippi river from its source to its mouth for the United States, thus freeing the Western States from all possible interference on the part of France or Spain, was a very convincing argument; and the United States Senate confirmed the treaty providing for the purchase of Louisiana by the United States, October 20, 1803.

Status of the Inhabitants.

The treaty of purchase had defined the status of the inhabitants of the ceded territory, except the thirty thousand slaves, in the following words: "The inhabitants of the ceded territory shall be incorporated in the Union of the United States, and admitted, as soon as possible, according to the principles of the Federal Constitution, to the enjoyment of all the rights, advantages and immunities of citizens of the United States; and in the meantime shall be maintained and protected in the free enjoyment of their liberty, property and the religion which they profess."

Territories of Orleans and Louisiana.

In 1804 the immense domain of Louisiana was divided by act of Congress into two divisions—the Territory of Orleans and the District of Louisiana. The Territory of Orleans—the southern division and the one which had all the chief settlements of the ceded territory—comprised the present State of Louisiana with indefinite boundaries on the west. The District of Louisiana embraced the present States of Arkansas and Missouri and all the region northward and westward that could be included within its undefined limits, its chief settlement being St. Louis. This District was then included within the jurisdiction of the Indiana Territory, but was detached therefrom in 1805 as the Territory of Louisiana. In 1805 also the provisions of the Territory of Orleans were rendered more liberal, as some of the inhabitants had complained of their status.



GEN'L WILLIAM CLARK.

CAPT. MERIWETHER LEWIS

In 1802 Georgia ceded to the United States her hitherto-conceded western domain on condition that slavery should not be prohibited there; and in 1804 this region was annexed to the Mississippi Territory, along with the long narrow strip of country ceded to the United States by South Carolina in 1787; the whole of the annexed region, excepting the eastern portion of the ceded South Carolina strip, which had been annexed to Georgia in 1802, comprehending the region constituting the northern halves of the present States of Alabama and Mississippi.

Enlarge-
ment of
Mis-
sissi-
ipi
Terri-
to-
ry.

In the meantime American discoveries and explorations on the Pacific coast were laying the foundation of claims by the United States to the future territory of Oregon. In 1792—during Washington's administration—Captain Robert Gray, of Boston, in the *Columbia*, discovered the great river which he named in honor of his vessel; and from 1804 to 1806—during Jefferson's administration—an exploring expedition under Captain Lewis and Lieutenant Clarke, of the United States army, traced the Missouri river to its source and the Columbia river from its source to the Pacific Ocean, giving their names respectively to the two great rivers which form the Columbia.

Explora-
tions of
Lewis
and
Clarke in
Oregon.

The insolent conduct of the piratical Barbary states of Northern Africa caused the United States to stop paying tribute to them in 1801; whereupon the Bashaw, or ruler, of Tripoli declared war against the United States. The American frigate *George Washington*, under the command of Captain William Bainbridge, was sent to the Mediterranean sea to protect American commerce; and in 1803 a small American squadron under Commodore Preble appeared before Tripoli, where one of his vessels, the *Philadelphia*, commanded by Captain William Bainbridge, grounded and was captured by the Tripolitans. In February, 1804, seventy-six Americans, with Lieutenant Stephen Decatur at their head, went into the harbor of Tripoli, boarded the *Philadelphia*, drove the pirates from her deck, and then, under a heavy cannonade from the shore, set the vessel on fire. Decatur did not lose a single man in this bold exploit. A severe naval battle was fought on the 3d of August, 1804, which resulted in an American victory; and the city of Tripoli suffered heavy bombardments from the American squadron. The Bashaw of Tripoli, alarmed at the rapid progress of the victors, made peace with Mr. Lear, the American consul-general on the Mediterranean, June 4, 1805.

War with
Tripoli.

Bold
Exploits
of Preble,
Bain-
bridge
and
Decatur.

In the autumn of 1804 the Republican party was again successful in the Presidential campaign, Jefferson being re-elected President, and George Clinton, of New York, being chosen Vice President, over the Federalist candidates, Charles Cotesworth Pinckney, of South Carolina, for President, and Rufus King, of New York, for Vice President.

Re-
election
of Jef-
ferson.

**Michigan
and
Illinois
Terri-
tories.**

The great West and South-west were now rapidly becoming peopled; and two new Territories were also formed at this period out of the vast domain of the original Indiana Territory—Michigan Territory, comprehending the present State of that name, erected in 1805; and Illinois Territory, including the present States of Illinois and Wisconsin and the north-eastern portion of Minnesota, organized in 1809.

**Aaron
Burr's
Schemes.**

These signs of expansion on the Western plains served to kindle projects of a new empire in that section of the Republic and its domain. In 1806 Aaron Burr—who had been Vice President of the United States during President Jefferson's first term, but whose murder of Alexander Hamilton in a duel in July, 1804, had made him almost universally detested and had lost him a second term of the Vice Presidency—secretly organized a military expedition in the Ohio region, consisting of adventurous spirits, some men of prominence and some of obscurity, with whose assistance he started out with the professed object of establishing an independent empire in the Spanish province of Mexico, or New Spain, with himself as Emperor.

**His Trial
for
Treason
and Ac-
quittal.**

Burr was soon suspected of the design of separating the country west of the Allegheny mountains from the Union; and, after gathering around him a few followers on the banks of the Mississippi, about a hundred miles above New Orleans, he surrendered himself to the government of the Mississippi Territory, in January, 1807. In the summer of 1800 he was arrested and brought to trial on a charge of high treason, at Richmond, Virginia, before Chief Justice John Marshall, of the United States Supreme Court, with whom sat the Judge of the United States District Court for Virginia. The reason for holding the trial in Virginia was the fact that one of the places where he was charged with having organized a military expedition was within the limits of that State. Like everything else in those times, the trial was made a party question; President Jefferson and the ruling Republican party being strongly against Burr, who had also been a Republican; while the retired Federalist party generally sided with Burr. His guilt not being proven, he was acquitted. For want of proof, he was also acquitted when tried for attempting to invade Mexico.

**Robert
Fulton
and
Steam
Navi-
gation.**

The experiments of Robert Fulton, a native of Lancaster county, Pennsylvania, in the application of steam to purposes of navigation, resulted in complete success in a voyage from New York to Albany, in August, 1807. For some years Fulton had been experimenting in projects of this kind in the United States, England and France. Three other American inventors who were experimenters in steam navigation at this period were John Fitch, a native of Windsor, Connecticut; Oliver Evans, a native of Newport, Delaware, and William

Henry, a resident of Lancaster, Pennsylvania, and a relative of the great Revolutionary orator, Patrick Henry, of Virginia.

Europe was still convulsed by the wars resulting from the French Revolution; and at this time the greater part of Continental Europe was under the control of the powerful and victorious Napoleon Bonaparte, who had been created Emperor of the French in 1804. While France was triumphant on land, Great Britain, which was engaged in a long and fierce war with her old enemy, was undisputed mistress of the seas.

Condition
of
Europe.

The measures of the two belligerent powers for each other's destruction produced great injury to the commerce of the United States. For the purpose of destroying the commerce of France, Great Britain, by an order-in-council, declared the coast of Continental Europe from the mouth of the Elbe, in Germany, to Brest, in France, to be in a state of blockade. Napoleon retaliated by issuing a decree at Berlin, in November, 1806, declaring the blockade of the ports of the British Islands. American vessels were seized by both British and French cruisers, and American commerce was swept from the ocean. In January, 1807, Great Britain, by an order-in-council, prohibited the coast trade with France. The American merchants, whose interests were injured by the measures of the two belligerent powers, demanded redress and protection; and great excitement prevailed in the United States. France and Great Britain still continued their desperate commercial game, regardless of the rights of neutral powers. On the 11th of November, 1807, Great Britain, by an order-in-council, forbade neutral nations from trading with France or her colonies unless they first paid tribute to Great Britain. In retaliation, Napoleon, by a decree issued at Milan, on the 17th of December, 1807, forbade trade with Great Britain or her colonies and authorized the confiscation of any vessel that had submitted to British search or paid British tribute.

British
Orders
and
French
Decrees.

Great Britain, denying that any of her subjects could become citizens or subjects of any other nation, claimed the right to search American vessels and take from them her native-born subjects for her navy. This right was denied by the United States. On the 22d of June, 1807, an event occurred which increased the excitement in the United States and created intense indignation against Great Britain. Four men on board the American frigate *Chesapeake* being claimed as deserters from the British armed ship *Melampus*, and Commodore Barron, of the *Chesapeake*, refusing to surrender them, the *Chesapeake* was attacked by the British frigate *Leopard* off the coast of Virginia. Taken completely by surprise, the *Chesapeake* surrendered after having lost eighteen men killed and wounded. The four men were taken on board the *Leopard*, and the *Chesapeake* returned to Hampton. The

Chesa-
peake
and
Leopard.

matter was investigated, when it was proven that three of the seamen were native Americans, and that the fourth, after being impressed into the British service, had deserted.

President Jefferson's Action.

In July, 1807, the President issued a proclamation ordering all British armed vessels to leave the waters of the United States and forbidding any to enter until Great Britain should render full satisfaction for the outrage upon the *Chesapeake*; and instructions were sent to the American envoys in London, directing them to seek reparation for the outrage perpetrated and to obtain the renunciation of the pretensions to the rights of search and impressment, pretensions which had been the cause of the wrong committed. The British government recognized their responsibility by sending a special envoy to Washington to adjust the difficulty; but the reparation was not made until four years later, in 1811; and the desired renunciation of the rights of search and impressment was never made.

Federalist Attitude.

Notwithstanding its gravity, the *Chesapeake* affair was made a party question in American politics. The Federalists, the friends of Great Britain, the capitalists and the commercial classes generally, complained of the attitude of the National government as too decided, too pro-French, thus characterizing the administration's course toward Great Britain as subordination to France.

President Jefferson's Recommendation.

President Jefferson wrote shortly afterwards as follows: "In the present maniac state of Europe, I believe we shall, on the contrary, have credit with the world for having made the avoidance of being engaged in the present unexampled war our first object." With this end in view, the President suggested the most self-denying policy. As the aggressions of Great Britain and France were directed against the owners and crews of vessels, the President recommended an embargo on all vessels, American and foreign, in ports of the United States; that is, that commerce was to be abandoned because it led to injuries from foreign nations. In accordance with the President's recommendation, the National Congress passed an embargo act, December 22, 1807, which prevented all American and foreign vessels from leaving American ports. The extreme Federalists denounced the embargo to be in the interest of France, and the measure was violently assailed by the commercial classes in the United States.

Embargo Act.

Both France and Great Britain retaliated on the United States for the adoption of the embargo, France taking action first. Napoleon, by a decree issued at Bayonne, April 17, 1808, ordered the confiscation of all American vessels in French ports. Later in the same year, December 21, 1808, Great Britain issued an order-in-council prohibiting the exportation of American produce to the European continent, whether paying tribute to France or not.

Retaliations of France and Great Britain.

Finally, because the embargo was very unpopular in the United States, especially with the merchants, to whose interests it was very injurious, and because it failed to obtain justice from France and Great Britain, it was repealed on the 1st of March, 1809, when, by non-intercourse and non-importation acts of the National Congress, all commercial intercourse with those countries was forbidden until they should either modify or rescind their measures so injurious to American commerce.

**Repeal
of the
Embargo.**

The Presidential election of 1808 resulted in the choice of the Republican candidate, James Madison, of Virginia, for President, and the reëlection of George Clinton, of New York, as Vice President, over the Federalist candidates, Charles Cotesworth Pinckney, of South Carolina, for President, and Rufus King, of New York, for Vice President.

**Election
of
Madison.**

Mr. Madison entered upon the duties of President of the United States on the 4th of March, 1809, when the relations of the Republic with Great Britain and France were of the most unfriendly character. On account of the unfavorable aspect of affairs, Congress, at the summons of the President, was assembled in extra session on the 22d of May.

**President
Madison,
A. D.
1809—
1817.**

Soon after his inauguration, President Madison was assured by Mr. Erskine, the British Minister at Washington, that a special envoy from Great Britain would soon make his appearance in the United States to negotiate for a settlement of all the subjects of dispute between the two governments. Relying upon this assurance, the President proclaimed a renewal of commercial intercourse with Great Britain; but the British government disavowed Erskine's act, and the President again proclaimed non-intercourse.

**False
Assur-
ances
of the
British
Minister.**

The next year (1810) President Madison renewed commercial intercourse with France. The Emperor Napoleon I. had just issued a decree at Rambouillet, ordering the sale of more than a hundred American vessels as condemned prizes, March 23, 1810; but when he heard of the President's action in ordering a renewal of commercial intercourse with France he signified his willingness to rescind the decrees complained of by the United States, on condition that either Great Britain recalled her orders-in-council or, if Great Britain refused to recall her orders, that the United States would enforce her claims. Great Britain replied that when France unconditionally revoked her decrees Great Britain would likewise revoke her orders-in-council. Mortified and chagrined, the United States renewed her restrictions on British and French commerce, which restrictions were scoffed at by American citizens themselves.

**Continued
British
and
French
Aggres-
sions.**

As we have already observed, the Federalists were bitter against the embargo act and the subsequent non-importation and non-intercourse

**Federal-
ist Oppo-
sition.**

**Secession
in Massa-
chusetts.**

acts. They went as far as the Republicans had gone during the administration of John Adams in the way of nullification of acts of Congress. During the administrations of Jefferson and Madison town meetings, State Legislatures and even Courts, under Federalist auspices, pronounced the embargo unconstitutional. The Massachusetts Federalists were accused of aiming at the secession of their State from the Union, as their State Legislature had declared thus: "Choose, then, fellow-citizens, between the condition of a free State, possessing its equal weight and influence in the general government, or that of a colony, free in name, but in fact enslaved by sister States."

**Continued
British
and
French
Aggres-
sions.**

Both France and Great Britain continued their desperate commercial game for the ruin of each other, regardless of the interests of other nations. Great Britain refused to rescind her obnoxious orders-in-council, and Napoleon adhered firmly to his Berlin and Milan decrees, so injurious to American commerce; and American vessels continued to be seized by both British and French cruisers. In 1811 Great Britain went so far as to send armed vessels to the coast of the United States to seize American merchant vessels and to take them to England as lawful prizes.

**President
and
Little
Belt.**

On the 16th of May, 1811, an event occurred which increased the bitter feeling in the United States against Great Britain. The British sloop-of-war *Little Belt*, Captain Bingham, was met and hailed by the American frigate *President*, Captain Rodgers, off the coast of Virginia. The *Little Belt* immediately answered by a cannon-shot. A short engagement ensued and when the *Little Belt* had thirty-two men killed and wounded her commander gave Captain Rodgers a satisfactory answer. Both governments approved the acts of their respective officers.

**Indian
Hostili-
ties in
the West.**

**Tecumseh
and the
Prophet.**

**Aims
of the
Indians.**

Amid these troubles with foreign nations and these party agitations at home there suddenly came a fresh outbreak of Indian hostilities against the whites in the West. During Jefferson's administration the United States government began the project of removing the Indians farther westward as early as 1804, but the first effects were disastrous. Two Shawnoese chiefs—the twin brothers Tecumseh and the Prophet—for some time had been settled on the Tippecanoe river, in Indiana Territory, and, instigated by British emissaries, had united the Western Indian tribes in a confederacy, in the spring of 1811, for the purpose of expelling the white people from the country north of the Ohio river.

The Indians especially tried to secure their title to the lands of which the whites were getting possession, by agreements with individuals or with individual tribes. The Indians also sought to prohibit the sale of the ardent spirits with which the white traders were ruining the red

men physically and morally. But to support these worthy objects, the Indian chiefs relied upon treachery, terror, superstition and blasphemy; and, while professing peace, Tecumseh and the Prophet were secretly preparing for war during the spring and summer of 1811.

Finally, in the autumn of the same year, General William Henry Harrison, Governor of Indiana Territory, led about two thousand troops up the Wabash river to the mouth of Tippecanoe creek, where the Prophet had his warriors. The Prophet proposed a conference for peace; but Harrison, suspecting treachery, caused his troops to sleep on their arms that night, November 6, 1811. Before daylight the next morning the Indians attacked Harrison's camp; but, after a desperate conflict, which lasted until dawn, they were repulsed, November 7, 1811. This engagement is known as the battle of Tippecanoe.

Battle of
Tippe-
canoe.

The Indians of the North-west thenceforth for several years continued hostile and perpetrated fiendish massacres upon the white settlers in the Indiana Territory, that by the Pottawatomies at Fort Dearborn, on the site of the present city of Chicago, in 1812, being the most atrocious.

Indian
Massa-
cres.

There was also trouble on the southern frontier of the United States. In consequence of a revolt against the Spanish authority in West Florida in 1810, President Madison had issued a proclamation declaring the territory on the east bank of the Mississippi river a part of Louisiana, October, 1810. In January, 1811, Congress authorized the acquisition of both East and West Florida if Spain agreed to sell it or if any other European power attempted to seize it. The Territory of Orleans, with a large portion of what Spain claimed as a part of West Florida, was admitted into the Union as the State of Louisiana, April 8, 1812; and another portion of what Spain regarded as a part of Florida was annexed to the Mississippi Territory by act of Congress. A United States official instigated a revolt against Spanish rule in East Florida, a demonstration being made against St. Augustine; but this proceeding was promptly disavowed by the United States government, though Mobile was held by United States troops until 1813, Spain having relinquished the portion of West Florida annexed by the United States to the new State of Louisiana and the Mississippi Territory. On June 4, 1812, the name of Louisiana Territory was changed to that of Missouri Territory.

Florida
and the
State
of Lou-
isiana.

Missouri
Territory.

In the meantime the war feeling against Great Britain was growing in the United States. Congress took up the question and voted measure after measure preparatory to hostilities with Great Britain, December, 1811—March, 1812. The situation had now reached a crisis, and President Madison hesitated, as he was no war leader by nature or by principle. But his party—at least the more active part of it—was

Warlike
Prepara-
tions
against
Great
Britain.

all for an appeal to arms. When he doubted, his party urged war. When he seemed disposed to draw back, his party drove him forward. The President was directly informed by his party that if he desired another nomination for the Presidency he must come out for war. Thereupon he sent a message to Congress asking for an embargo of sixty days. Congress accepted this executive recommendation as preliminary to war, and voted it, by a considerable majority, for ninety days, April 4, 1812. Finally, the British press insolently declared that "the United States could not be kicked into a war."

SECTION II.—WAR OF 1812-15 WITH GREAT BRITAIN.

Declaration of War.

ALL efforts made by the United States government for a peaceful settlement of the difficulties with Great Britain having failed, as recited by President Madison in a message to Congress, June 1, 1812, the President of the United States, by authority of Congress, issued a proclamation, on the 19th of June, 1812, declaring war against Great Britain. The contest which then began is known as the *War of 1812*, or the *Second War for Independence*. Congress made appropriations for carrying on the war and authorized the President to enlist twenty-five thousand men, to accept the services of fifty thousand volunteers and to call out one hundred thousand militia for the defense of the sea-coast and the frontiers. General Henry Dearborn, of Massachusetts, was appointed commander-in-chief. The other leading generals were James Wilkinson, Wade Hampton, William Hull and Joseph Bloomfield. All these officers had served in the War of the Revolution.

Military Preparations.

Rights of Neutrals and Seamen.

Great Britain's One Concession.

The War Party and Its Cry.

The United States went to war with the greatest naval power of the world for the rights of neutrals and the rights of seamen, both of which principles involved the honor and the independence of the Nation. The rights of neutrals were secured at once, for when France unconditionally rescinded her decrees Great Britain withdrew her orders-in-council, June 23, 1812, four days after the American declaration of war. Great Britain announced that the rights of American seamen could be secured also if the United States would take measures to prevent British seamen from enlisting in the American naval service.

The Republican, administration, or war party in the United States insisted: "We must fight, if it is only for what has been, for the seizure of nine hundred American vessels and six thousand American seamen, for the injuries which are beyond redress by negotiation." The Republican party really was obliged, under the circumstances, to fight for themselves as a party organization and for the position which they had staked on war. The cause of the United

States was thus, primarily, the cause of a political party, the party nominally headed by President Madison and by two of his Cabinet officers, James Monroe, of Virginia, Secretary of State, and Albert Gallatin, of Pennsylvania, Secretary of the Treasury, and other supporters of the administration. The real leaders of the war party, the administration party, the Republican party, were younger men, some of whom already had risen to distinction and afterwards became the greatest of American statesmen, such as Henry Clay, of Kentucky, Speaker of the House of Representatives, and John Caldwell Calhoun, of South Carolina, also a member of the same body.

Henry
Clay and
John C.
Calhoun.

As the war was the work and policy of the dominant Republican party, it was opposed strenuously by the opposition, or Federalist party, one of whose members soon entered the House of Representatives from Federalist New England and who afterward became one of the greatest of American orators and statesmen—Daniel Webster, of Massachusetts. An anti-war protest from the Federalist members of Congress was the signal for violent Federalist outcries against the war, repeated in public meetings and at domestic hearthstones. Even the pulpit indulged in violent political harangues of an anti-war nature, some in the direction of secession and disunion, as the following words from a Boston clergyman: “The alternative then is, that if you do not wish to become the slaves of those who own slaves, and who are themselves the slaves of French slaves, you must either, in the language of the day, cut the connection or so far alter the National Constitution as to secure yourselves a due share in the government. The Union has long since been virtually dissolved, and it is full time that this portion of the United States should take care of itself.”

Federalist
Opposi-
tion.

Daniel
Webster.

Secession
Talk of a
Boston
Clergy-
man.

The bitter party feeling over the war question broke out in a Republican riot in Baltimore a few days after the declaration of war. The office of a Federalist newspaper, the *Federal Republican*, conducted by Alexander Hanson, was sacked by a mob, who then attacked dwellings, pillaged vessels and finally fired the house of a Federalist suspected of sympathy with Great Britain, June 22 and 23, 1812. A month afterward Hanson opened another newspaper office, and prepared to defend it, with the aid of his friends, against the attack which he felt certain his boldness would provoke. As expected, the mob made its appearance, and, after a night of horror and bloodshed, forced the party in the office to surrender themselves on a charge of murder. The next night the mob attacked the prison, and beat and tortured Hanson and his friends, excepting some who escaped, most unmercifully. General Henry Lee, of Virginia, a Revolutionary soldier and close friend of Washington—the father of General Robert Edward Lee, the eminent Confederate leader in the Civil War half a century later—

Federalist
News-
paper
Mobbed
in Bal-
timore.

was injured for life while defending Hanson's office against the mob. Another Revolutionary soldier—General Lingan—was actually killed. The Republican city authorities made no effort to suppress the mob, whose ringleaders were acquitted at the subsequent trial. Hanson kept up his paper only by removing to Georgetown, in the District of Columbia.

**American
Weakness.**

The United States was not in a condition to enter into a struggle with the gigantic naval power of the world—the power which so long, often single-handed, had bidden defiance to the colossal power of Napoleon. There was practically no American army worthy of the name. There was an abundant supply of generals, but a few thousand regulars and volunteers constituted the entire military force of the Republic. There was a general distrust of the militia; and some of the State authorities, those of Federalist New England, denied the power of the National government to call that reserve force of the Nation into the field, notwithstanding the fact that the National Constitution authorizes Congress "to provide for calling forth the militia to execute the laws of the Union, suppress insurrections and repel invasions." The United States navy also was comparatively insignificant, consisting of less than a dozen frigates, about as many smaller vessels and a flotilla of useless gunboats. The American finances were in a relatively-low condition, as the National revenue had fallen off in consequence of the years of interruption of American commerce; and the treasury was wholly inadequate to the requirements of war. Therefore, the United States government had recourse to loans, and afterward to direct taxes and licenses, A. D. 1813. In short, the United States had only its population to rely upon, which the census of 1810 gave as almost seven and a-quarter million, of which almost twelve hundred thousand were negro slaves.

**Great
Britain's
Preoccu-
pation.**

Fortunately, for the United States at this critical juncture, Great Britain was preoccupied with her gigantic struggle against the mighty power of Napoleon I., who was then at the zenith of his strength, just preceding his first great check and reverse in his disastrous Russian campaign, which occurred later during this same eventful year of 1812. Under the circumstances, the American declaration of war seemed to the British like the feeble cry of a child amid the contentions of strong men.

**Hull's
Invasion
of
Canada
and
Retreat.**

The war commenced with an invasion of Canada, from Detroit, in Michigan Territory, in July, 1812, by about two thousand American troops under the command of General William Hull, Governor of Michigan Territory. When informed that Fort Mackinaw, a strong American post in the North-west, had been surprised and captured by a party of British and Indians on the 17th of July, and that a small

American force under Major Van Horne had been defeated on the River Raisin on the 5th of August, Hull hastily returned to Detroit. Sir Isaac Brock, at the head of thirteen hundred British and Indians, pursued Hull, and, appearing before Detroit, demanded the surrender of that post and Hull's army, threatening in case of a refusal to allow the Indians the unrestrained exercise of their barbarous system of warfare. Hull, greatly alarmed, complied with the demand of the British general; and his army, along with the fort at Detroit and the Michigan Territory, fell into the hands of the enemy.

Hull's Surrender at Detroit.

After Hull's surrender at Detroit the Americans made an attempt to invade Canada on the Niagara frontier. On the 13th of October, 1812, a party of Americans crossed the Niagara river into Canada to attack the British at Queenstown. The invaders captured a battery and made themselves masters of Queenstown Heights; but when the enemy was reinforced by six hundred men under Sir Isaac Brock, the British commander-in-chief, and when many of the American militia refused to go to the relief of their countrymen, the Americans were defeated with the loss of one thousand men in killed, wounded and prisoners. Among those who were taken prisoners by the enemy were Colonel Winfield Scott and Captain John Ellis Wool, who had distinguished themselves by their gallantry. Among the killed on the side of the British was Sir Isaac Brock, their able and heroic commander-in-chief.

Battle of Queenstown.

The Americans, though defeated on land, were successful on the sea during the year 1812. On the 13th of August the American frigate *Essex*, Captain David Porter, defeated and captured the British sloop-of-war *Alert*. On the 19th of the same month (August, 1812) the United States frigate *Constitution*, Captain Isaac Hull, defeated, captured and burned the British frigate *Guerriere* off the Gulf of St. Lawrence. On the 18th of October the United States sloop-of-war *Wasp*, Captain Jacob Jones, compelled the British brig *Frolic* to surrender, after a severe conflict off the coast of North Carolina; but in the afternoon of the same day both the *Wasp* and the *Frolic* were taken by the British ship *Poitiers*. On the 25th of October the American frigate *United States*, Captain Stephen Decatur, captured the British frigate *Macedonian* off the Azores Islands. On the 29th of December the American frigate *Constitution*, Captain William Bainbridge, compelled the British frigate *Java* to strike her colors, after a desperate fight of three hours off the coast of Brazil.

American Naval Victories in 1812.

The Federalists failed in their endeavors to make the war unpopular, as the war spirit of the great majority of the people of the United States was demonstrated fully in the autumn of 1812 by the reëlection of Madison as President, with Elbridge Gerry, of Massachusetts, as

Re-election of Madison.

Vice President, over the Federalist candidates, De Witt Clinton, of New York, for President, and Jared Ingersoll, of Pennsylvania, for Vice President.

Three American Armies in 1813.

The Americans had organized three armies on the Canada frontier for the campaign of 1813. The Army of the West, under General William Henry Harrison, was near the western end of Lake Erie. The Army of the Center, under General Henry Dearborn, the commander-in-chief, was on the Niagara frontier. The Army of the North, under General Wade Hampton, was near Lake Champlain.

Battle of Frenchtown.

The people of the West were resolved to recover Michigan Territory, and so many volunteers from Ohio and Kentucky offered their services that General Harrison found himself obliged to issue an order against further enlistments. On the 10th of January, 1813, General Winchester, with eight hundred Kentuckians, reached the Maumee Rapids; and, after a portion of this force had driven the British from Frenchtown, on the River Raisin, in Michigan, on the 18th of January, Winchester arrived with the remainder of the troops on the 20th (January, 1813). General Proctor, with fifteen hundred British and Indians, attacked the Americans at Frenchtown on the 22d of January; and Winchester surrendered on condition that his troops should be protected from the Indians; but Proctor, in disregard of his promise, marched away, leaving the sick and wounded Americans to be massacred by the Indians. From that time the war-cry of the Kentuckians was: "Remember the River Raisin!"

Massacre of the River Raisin.

Two Sieges of Fort Meigs.

In February, 1813, General Harrison built Fort Meigs, at the Maumee Rapids, where he was besieged at the beginning of May (1813) by two thousand British and Indians under Proctor and Tecumseh, who finally were driven away on the 5th (May, 1813), when Harrison was reinforced by a body of Kentuckians under General Green Clay. On the 21st of July (1813) about four thousand British and Indians under Proctor and Tecumseh again besieged Fort Meigs; but the garrison, then under the command of General Clay, repulsed the enemy and compelled them to retire.

Defense of Fort Stephenson.

After their second repulse before Fort Meigs, Proctor and Tecumseh marched against Fort Stephenson, at Lower Sandusky, now Fremont; which they attacked on the 2d of August (1813); but the garrison of one hundred and fifty men, under Major Croghan, a gallant officer only twenty-one years of age, bravely resisted the assaults of the enemy, who at last were obliged to flee in confusion.

Perry's Victory on Lake Erie.

During the summer the Americans constructed, at Erie, in Pennsylvania, a squadron of nine vessels, carrying fifty-five guns, which they placed under the command of Commodore Oliver Hazard Perry. The British had prepared a squadron of six vessels, carrying sixty-

three guns, commanded by Commodore Barclay. A terrible battle was fought between these two squadrons near the west end of Lake Erie, on the 10th of September, 1813. Each squadron had about five hundred men. During the battle, which began about noon, Perry was obliged to abandon his flag-ship, the *Lawrence*, and to transfer his flag to another ship, in the midst of a severe fire from the enemy, Perry shouting: "Don't give up the ship!" Such terrible broadsides were poured upon the enemy's fleet that at four o'clock in the afternoon every British vessel had surrendered to Perry. Perry's dispatch to General Harrison was: "We have met the enemy, and they are ours." This great victory produced unbounded rejoicings throughout the United States, and bonfires and illuminations lighted up the whole country, Perry being the great hero of the hour.

After the victory on Lake Erie, Perry's fleet conveyed General Harrison and his army across the lake to Canada. Harrison advanced upon Fort Malden, which he found deserted. He pursued and overtook the fleeing British and Indians under Proctor and Tecumseh; and, at the Moravian Town, on the Thames, he annihilated the whole force of the enemy on October 4 and 5, 1813. Tecumseh was among the killed. The consequences of this brilliant victory were the recovery of Michigan and the termination of the war in the North-west.

Battle
of the
Thames.

On the 27th of April, 1813, General Dearborn, after being conveyed across Lake Ontario in Commodore Chauncey's fleet, landed with seventeen hundred troops at York, now Toronto, the Capital of Upper Canada, now Ontario, and an important depot of British supplies. The place was abandoned immediately by the enemy, who blew up their magazine, thus killing two hundred Americans, among whom was the gallant General Zebulon Montgomery Pike, who led the troops against the town, and who in 1806 had discovered and explored the lofty Rocky Mountain peak afterward named in his honor, Pike's Peak, in the present Colorado. The Americans burned the Parliament House at York.

American
Capture
of York,
now
Toronto.

On the 27th of May, 1813, the army under Dearborn and the fleet under Chauncey attacked the British at Fort George, in Canada, at the mouth of the Niagara river, and drove them westward for many miles. On the night of the 6th of June the enemy were repulsed in a sudden attack upon the pursuing Americans, at Stony Creek; but Generals Chandler and Winder, the American commanders, were taken prisoners.

Capture
of Fort
George.

On the 29th of May, 1813, Sir George Prevost, with one thousand British soldiers, landed at Sackett's Harbor; but they were repulsed in an attack upon the town by the American militia under General Jacob Brown and were compelled to return hastily to their ships. In August Dearborn was succeeded in command by General James Wilkin-

Battle
of
Stony
Creek.

British
Repulse
at
Sackett's
Harbor.

son, who, with seven thousand troops, went down the St. Lawrence in boats, early in November, for the purpose of attacking Montreal. Wilkinson landed troops near Williamsburg, on the Canada shore of the St. Lawrence, a little below Ogdensburg, where an indecisive action, known as the *Battle of Chrysler's Field*, was fought with the enemy on the 11th of November, 1813. Wilkinson proceeded farther down the river, but when General Wade Hampton refused to coöperate with him he relinquished his intention of attacking Montreal and went into winter-quarters at French Mills.

**Battle of
Chrysler's
Field.**

**Desola-
tion of the
Niagara
Frontier.**

General George McClure, who then commanded American troops on the Niagara frontier, was pressed so hard by the enemy that he destroyed Fort George and the neighboring village of Newark on the 10th of December, 1813; and on the 12th he fled to Fort Niagara, on the New York side of the Niagara river. The British and Indians crossed the river, captured Fort Niagara on the 29th of December, and laid six towns, including Buffalo, in ashes, in retaliation for the burning of Newark. Thus the war in this quarter was conducted in a barbarous and vandalistic spirit on both sides.

**War
with the
Creek
Indians.**

**Their
Subjuga-
tion.**

In the meantime trouble had arisen in the South, where the Creek Indians, instigated by Tecumseh, had commenced a fierce war against the white people. On the 30th of August, 1813, the Creeks surprised and destroyed Fort Mimms, on the Alabama river, and put to death four hundred men, women and children, who had sought refuge within its walls. This atrocious deed aroused the indignation of the white people. General Andrew Jackson marched into the Creek country, at the head of two thousand men, chiefly Tennesseans; and, in a series of conflicts, beginning in the early part of November, 1813, and ending with the battle of Tohopeka, or Great Horse Shoe, on the 27th of March, 1814, the Creeks were defeated so thoroughly and their power was broken so completely that they were compelled to accept a humiliating peace. Weatherford, their greatest leader, on being brought as a captive in Jackson's camp, said: "I am in your power. Do with me what you please. I have done the white people all the harm I could. I can do no more." He was spared.

**Sea
Fights
in 1813.**

The ocean was the theater of desperate engagements in 1813. On the 24th of February the American sloop-of-war *Hornet*, Captain James Lawrence, captured the British brig *Peacock* off the coast of Jamaica, after a sharp action of fifteen minutes. The *Peacock* sunk soon after the fight, carrying with her to the bottom of the sea nine British and three American seamen. Captain Lawrence, soon after his return to the United States, was promoted to the command of the frigate *Chesapeake*; and on the 1st of June he was defeated and killed, after a bloody struggle of fifteen minutes with the British frigate

Shannon off Boston harbor. Forty-eight of the officers and crew of the *Chesapeake* were killed, and ninety-eight were wounded. As the heroic Lawrence was carried below he exclaimed: "Don't give up the ship!" The American brig *Argus*, Captain Allen, after capturing many British vessels off the English coast, herself was captured on the 14th of August by the British brig *Pelican*. On the 5th of September the American brig *Enterprise*, Lieutenant Burrows, captured the British brig *Boxer* off Portland, Maine. The commanders of both vessels were killed; and their remains were interred, with military honors, in one broad grave, in Portland.

During the spring and summer of 1813 Lewistown, on Delaware bay, and Havre de Grace, Frenchtown, Fredericktown and Georgetown, on Chesapeake bay, were plundered and burned by a British squadron under the command of Admiral Cockburn. After being repulsed in attacks upon Norfolk and Portsmouth, Virginia, in June, 1813, and after committing great outrages at Hampton, Cockburn carried many negroes away from the Carolina coasts and sold them in the West Indies.

On the 5th of May, 1814, the town of Oswego, in New York, on Lake Ontario, after a fierce engagement, was captured by the British, who, however, withdrew from the town two days afterward, May 7, 1814.

On the 3d of July, 1814, the American army under General Jacob Brown, on the western frontier of New York, crossed the Niagara, with General Winfield Scott and General Ripley, and captured Fort Erie on the same day. Brown advanced northward, along the west bank of the Niagara river; and, on the 5th of July, 1814, he gained a brilliant victory at Chippewa over the British army under General Riall.

The British army, under the command of Lieutenant-General Drummond, advanced toward the Niagara, and at sunset on the 25th of July, 1814, met the American army under General Brown at Lundy's Lane, near the thundering cataract of Niagara, where a sanguinary battle ensued, which ended at midnight without a decisive result. Each party had lost over eight hundred men. Both Generals Brown and Scott, the American commanders, were wounded. On the following day (July 26, 1814) the American army retired to Fort Erie without delay.

On the 15th of August the British army under Drummond attempted to take Fort Erie by assault, but was repulsed with the loss of one thousand men. After the British had besieged the fort for more than a month, they were driven from their intrenchments, on the 17th of September, by a party of Americans who sallied from the fort. The enemy then retreated to Chippewa, and in November the Americans

British
Deprada-
tions
on the
Chesa-
peake.

British
Capture
of
Oswego.

Battle of
Chipp-
ewa.

Battle of
Lundy's
Lane.

Siege
of Fort
Erie.

destroyed Fort Erie and recrossed to the New York side of the Niagara river.

**Land and
Naval
Battles of
Platts-
burg.**

When informed that General Izard, the American commander at Plattsburg, in New York, on Lake Champlain, had gone to the Niagara frontier with five thousand of his troops to reinforce General Brown, leaving only fifteen hundred under General Macomb at Plattsburg, Sir George Prevost, who commanded fourteen thousand British veteran troops on the St. Lawrence, advanced toward Plattsburg, before which place he appeared on the 6th of September. During the summer each party had constructed a small squadron on Lake Champlain. On Sunday morning, September 11, 1814, the British squadron under Commodore Downie attacked the American squadron under Commodore Macdonough off Plattsburg; and after a fierce engagement of several hours every British vessel surrendered to Macdonough. On the same day the British land force of twelve thousand men under Prevost, which had attacked the little American army under Macomb at Plattsburg, was defeated and compelled to retreat hastily toward Canada.

**British
Attack
on Ston-
ington.**

In the meantime the British had blockaded the whole New England coast and had taken possession of Eastport, Machias and Belfast, in Maine. A British squadron under Commodore Hardy had bombarded and cannonaded Stonington, in Connecticut, for four days when the enemy finally withdrew on the 14th of August. Property on the New England coast was destroyed in many places by British marauding parties.

**Capture
of Wash-
ington.**

About the middle of August, 1814, a British fleet under Admiral Cochrane sailed up the Patuxent and landed five thousand troops under General Ross, who defeated the Americans under General Winder at Bladensburg on the 24th (August, 1814), entered Washington on the same day, burned the Capitol, the President's House and other public and private buildings, and then quickly returned to their shipping. President Madison narrowly escaped being taken prisoner. The burning of the public buildings was in revenge for the burning of the Parliament House at York, in Canada, by the Americans, the year before; so the Americans had no right to complain. On August 29th some British frigates appeared off Alexandria, in Virginia, and extorted an enormous ransom from that town.

**British
Repulse
at Bal-
timore.**

Encouraged by their success at Washington, the enemy threatened Baltimore with an attack. With about eight thousand British troops, Ross landed at North Point on the 12th of September, 1814; and, after a desperate engagement seven miles from Baltimore, on the same day, in which Ross was killed, the Americans under General Stricker were compelled to fall back behind the defenses of Baltimore. The British squadron which had ineffectually bombarded Fort McHenry,

garrisoned by a few Americans under Major Armistead, a few miles below Baltimore, finally withdrew with the land troops on the morning of the 14th (September, 1814); and the attempt to take Baltimore was abandoned. It was during the bombardment of Fort McHenry that Francis Scott Key, a young lawyer and poet, who witnessed the bombardment and beheld the Stars and Stripes wave in triumph over the fort, in a moment of patriotic joy, wrote *The Star Spangled Banner.*

"Star
Spangled
Banner."

The subjection of the Creek Indians by General Jackson did not put an end to the war in the South. The Spaniards of Florida permitted the British to make the town of Pensacola a base of operations. From this point a force of British troops and fugitive Creek warriors marched into Alabama, and attacked Fort Bowyer, now Fort Morgan, below Mobile, on the 15th of September, 1814, but were repulsed with heavy loss. Failing to obtain satisfaction from the Spanish Governor of Florida for sheltering the enemies of the United States, Jackson marched from Mobile, with two thousand Tennesseans, against Pensacalo, which he seized on the 7th of November, after driving the British to their shipping.

Jackson's
Invasion
of Florida
and
Seizure of
Pensacola.

After returning to Mobile, Jackson was called to New Orleans to defend that city against an expected attack from the British army and navy. On the 14th of December, 1814, a British fleet captured an American flotilla in Lake Borgne. A British army of twelve thousand men under General Pakenham landed in Louisiana and soon appeared below New Orleans. After being repulsed in an attack upon the British camp, on the night of the 23d of December, 1814, Jackson placed his little army of three thousand men, mostly Tennessee militia, behind strong intrenchments, three miles below New Orleans, and extending from the Mississippi river to an impenetrable cypress swamp, where he was soon reinforced by about three thousand Kentucky militia, increasing his army to six thousand men. The British opened a cannonade on the American works on the 28th of December, 1814, and again on New Year's day, in 1815. At length, on the 8th of January, 1815, the whole British army, twelve thousand strong, with Pakenham at its head, advanced to begin a grand attack upon the Americans, who opened a deadly musketry and artillery fire on the advancing enemy. The British troops at length wavered and began to flee; and, while endeavoring to rally them, General Pakenham was killed. General Gibbs, the next in command, was also slain; and the third, General Keene, was wounded. Thus deprived of their generals, the whole British army retreated to their ships, and this sanguinary battle ended in a glorious victory for the Americans. The British lost two thousand killed and wounded, while the Americans lost only seven killed

British
Invasion
of Lou-
isiana.

Battle of
New
Orleans.

and six wounded. This victory produced the liveliest joy in the United States. Five weeks after the battle news reached the United States that a treaty of peace had been concluded at Ghent, in Belgium, two weeks before the battle, December 24, 1814. As the battle was fought after the treaty of peace had been made, it had no effect on the treaty. Had there been an Atlantic Cable in those days the battle of New Orleans would not have been fought.

General Jackson and Judge Hall.

After their disastrous defeat at New Orleans the British retired to sea, and this time they took Fort Bowyer, near Mobile, February 12, 1815. The new State of Louisiana had been defended nobly by the energy of General Jackson and by the patriotic spirit of her people and the people of the entire South-west, whose sons flocked to her rescue. Jackson resorted to anything to defend New Orleans. On the approach of the enemy he proclaimed martial law, and he continued it until after their departure. The author of a newspaper article reflecting upon the general's conduct was imprisoned to stand trial for his life. Judge Hall, of the United States District Court in New Orleans, issued a writ of habeas corpus in the prisoner's behalf, for which the Judge was arrested and expelled from the city by Jackson's order. The United States District Attorney in New Orleans then applied to the State Court of Louisiana in the Judge's behalf, for which Jackson also banished the District Attorney from the city. On the proclamation of peace and the consequent suspension of martial law Judge Hall returned to New Orleans and summoned General Jackson before his Court and fined him a thousand dollars for contempt of court. The general paid the fine, but the people of New Orleans raised a subscription of a thousand dollars which they offered to Jackson to repay him for his fine, which the general refused. Jackson was reimbursed by Congress for the entire amount nearly thirty years later.

Jackson as a Hero.

General Andrew Jackson, the great American hero of the War of 1812, the idol of the South and of the Republican, or Democratic party, had never been to a military school; and for that reason he was ridiculed by Federalists and New Englanders as "a backwoods warrior," as "an accident," as "ignorant, illiterate," etc.

Sea Fights in 1814 and 1815.

The war was still continued with vigor on the ocean during the years 1814 and 1815. On the 28th of March, 1814, the American frigate *Essex*, Captain Porter, was captured off the port of Valparaiso, on the coast of Chili, in South America, by the British frigate *Phœbe* and sloop-of-war *Cherub*. On the 29th of April, 1814, the American sloop-of-war *Peacock*, Captain Warrington, captured the British brig *Epervier* off the coast of Florida. The American sloop-of-war *Wasp*, Captain Blakeley, was lost at sea after capturing thirteen British vessels, among which were the *Reindeer*, taken on the 28th of June, and

the *Avon*, on the 1st of September, 1814. On 16th of January, 1815, the American frigate *President*, Commodore Decatur, was captured off Long Island by a British squadron. On the 20th of February, 1815, the American frigate *Constitution*, Commodore Stewart, captured the British sloops-of-war *Cyane* and *Levant* off Lisbon, in Portugal, after a spirited engagement. On the 23d of March, 1815, the American sloop-of-war *Hornet*, Captain Biddle, captured the British brig *Penguin* in the South Atlantic Ocean, having not yet heard of the treaty of peace concluded two months before.

Having narrated the military and naval events of the War of 1812, we now will proceed to relate the account of the proceedings of the National government, the course of the Federalist opposition party and the protracted peace negotiations ending in the final treaty of peace.

The Nation was in desperate straits, and various causes produced the same effect. It had been found impossible to raise an adequate army, the very first essential for prosecuting a war, notwithstanding the increase of bounties and the enlistment of minors without the consent of their parents or masters, measures which were rejected when first proposed to Congress, but afterwards adopted, December, 1814. Thus all inducements to strengthen the military arm of the Nation failed. The militia was therefore the main reliance of the Republic, and about this the same controversies continued as those already alluded to between the National and State authorities, as the Federalist opposition sought to embarrass the National government by raising the cry that the people's liberties were imperilled by an increase of the armed forces of the Nation. At the close of the war systems of conscription for recruiting the army and of impressment for the navy were contemplated by the United States government.

The military weakness of the Nation was not the only source of embarrassment to the United States government. To prevent supplies reaching the enemy and to deprive him of all advantages of commerce, a new embargo was laid, December, 1813, so severe in its restrictions affecting the coasting trade and the fisheries that Massachusetts denounced it as another Boston Port Bill, the Legislature of that State pronouncing the measure to be unconstitutional. This embargo was repealed in April, 1814, as was also at the same time the non-importation act that had paralyzed the Nation's commercial interests for years.

The most serious of all the Nation's embarrassments during the war were its financial straits. All efforts for the relief of the National treasury had been found to be wofully insufficient. One loan after another was contracted; and taxes were imposed repeatedly, so that,

Other Features of the War.

The Nation's Military Weakness.

New Embargo and Its Repeal.

The Nation's Financial Straits.

finally, carriages, furniture, paper, and even watches, were assessed; other sources of National income being sought, as in the case of a new United States Bank, the earlier institution of this kind having expired in accordance with the provisions of its charter. In 1814 the National government could count on eleven million dollars of revenue, ten millions from taxes and one million from customs duties; while fifty millions were demanded for the expenditures of 1815. In August, 1814, many banks in the United States suspended specie payments.

**Contra-
dictory
Atitude
of the
Two
Political
Parties.**

The Federalists all along had been opposed strenuously to the war, and had thrown every obstacle in the way of its prosecution by the administration. This opposition was manifesting itself constantly, and its bases were too deep-seated to be moved easily. Beneath the questions relating directly to the war itself were earlier subjects of controversy, such old problems as the relations of the National and State governments appearing for renewed discussion and dispute. The Federalist Governor of Massachusetts expressed himself thus: "The government of the United States is founded on the State governments and must be supported by them." Thus there seemed to be practically a change of sides by the two great parties of the Nation on the mutual relations of the National and State governments, but the divisions were the same. The Federalists, though theoretically the National supremacy party, now out of power, had become practically the State rights party; while the Republicans, or Democrats, theoretically the State rights party, now in power, had become practically the National supremacy party. In the midst of the war even the divisions between the North and the South reappeared with wider lines; as the South, where the Republican, or Democratic party was supreme, supported the war; while the North, especially New England, where the Federalists were the dominant party, generally opposed the war.

**Hartford
Conven-
tion.**

A movement for a convention of the Federalist party, or, as its moving spirits called it, a convention of the States opposing the war, originated in Massachusetts; but at first it received so little support that it lay dormant for several months, after which increasing trials led to renewed struggles. The movement then reappeared in the guise of "a conference between those States the affinity of whose interests is closest and whose habits of intercourse from local and other causes are most frequent," meaning the New England States; but subjects of a general nature were referred "to a future convention from all the States in the Union," in case the conference deemed it expedient. The Legislature of Massachusetts appointed twelve delegates to represent that State in the conference and invited the other New England States to take similar action, October, 1814. The Legislature of Connecticut soon responded by appointing seven delegates to represent that com-

monwealth and named Hartford as the place for the meeting of the conference. The Rhode Island Legislature appointed four delegates. Two counties in New Hampshire each selected a delegate, and one county in Vermont also chose a delegate. The conference, or the "Hartford Convention," as it is called, opened December 15, 1814, with all but two of the twenty-six appointed delegates in attendance; and the other two appeared afterward, thus making, with the secretary, an assembly of twenty-seven persons; George Cabot, of Massachusetts, being the president of the convention, and Harrison Gray Otis, of the same State, being the leading member.

The proceedings of the Hartford Convention, which were secret, were regarded by the ruling Republican party as treasonable, and charges of secession were made freely against it. The dominant Republican party, which was the great majority of the Nation, regarded the Federalist convention of the New England States as the last desperate stake of the opposition, or anti-war party. The Federalists denied the accusations of disunion hurled at the convention and pointed to the words of the call of the Massachusetts Legislature for the conference at Hartford, which proposed such deliberations and such measures only as were "not repugnant to their obligations as members of the Union." The Federalist party, as a whole, apparently attached little importance to the convention, regarding it simply as a meeting of a small number of men to whom the greater part of New England was willing to confide its shattered interests, but without any expectation of relief, as the majority of the Nation was too strong against them.

After opening its proceedings with prayer, the Hartford Convention addressed itself to the consideration of two classes of "dangers and grievances." The principal grievances of the first class were the illegal course of the National government relating to the militia and the destitution of all resources for the defense of New England. As a remedy for these difficulties, the convention suggested that the New England States be permitted to undertake their own defense and also that a reasonable portion of the taxes imposed upon them by the National government be retained by them to defray the cost of defending themselves. As a remedy for the second class of complaints, relating to most of the matters that the Federalist party had charged against Jefferson's and Madison's administrations, the convention proposed seven amendments of the National Constitution. All of these proposed Constitutional amendments were prohibitory and were as follows: against any representation of slaves; against any embargo for more than sixty days; against any war, unless defensive; against any admission of a new State, except by a two-thirds vote of Congress; against the eligibility of persons "hereafter to be naturalized" to Congress or

Charges
of Seces-
sion.

Proceed-
ings of
the Con-
vention.

to any civil office under the United States, and against the reëlection of a President or the election of two successive Presidents from the same State. In proposing these amendments, the convention declared that "no hostility to the Constitution is meditated." After providing for another convention at Boston, if "peace should not be concluded and the defense of these States should be rejected," the Hartford Convention adjourned after a three weeks' session, January 5, 1815.

Its Results. The results of the Hartford Convention were practically null, having no effect upon the action of Congress, which passed a law without any apparent reference to the convention, ordering the militia to "be employed in the State raising the same or in an adjoining State, and not elsewhere, except with the assent of the Executive of the State so raising the same," January, 1815. That was the only result of the convention. The commissioners appointed by Massachusetts to apply to the National government for permission to carry out the recommendation of the convention relating to the self-defense of the States arrived at Washington just in time to be informed that the war had been ended by a treaty of peace a few weeks before.

Nullification in Connecticut and Massachusetts. In the meantime the Federalist Legislatures of Connecticut and Massachusetts had followed the example set by the Republican Legislatures of Kentucky and Virginia in 1798 in the way of nullifying the acts of the National Congress, passing acts in direct conflict with a recent statute of the United States concerning the enlistment of minors; and the persons engaged in enlisting minors for the United States service were fined and imprisoned, January, 1815. Both these States previously had arrayed themselves in opposition to the National government, Connecticut by legislative enactment and Massachusetts by judicial tribunals. Still later, Massachusetts resisted the measures of the National government relating to British prisoners. The Hartford Convention did not go so far as nullification, only having declared thus: "That acts of Congress in violation of the Constitution are absolutely void is an undeniable position. It does not, however, consist with the respect and forbearance due from a confederate State towards the general government to fly to open resistance upon every infraction of the Constitution." As party passions were then high, nullification was a natural result in New England.

Treatment of Prisoners of War. In the first year of the war a serious question arose between the contending nations. The British had proceeded to treat some Irishmen, captured while fighting on the American side, not as ordinary prisoners of war, but as traitors to Great Britain. When these captured Irish Americans were being tried in England for treason Congress asserted itself in their behalf by authorizing the adoption of retaliatory measures. An equal number of British captives were soon imprisoned, and

when the British retorted by imprisoning twice as many captured American officers the Americans imprisoned twice as many British officers. Thereupon the British government ordered its commanders to destroy the American coast towns and their inhabitants in case the Americans inflicted any retaliation upon their British captives. At this juncture the Federalist majority in the Massachusetts Legislature, appearing in the role of nullification against the National government and caring little for the fate of the Irish American prisoners in British hands, forbade the use of the Massachusetts State prisons for the captive British officers then ordered to be imprisoned, February, 1814. Finally the British government retracted its course in this matter by consenting to treat the captured Irish Americans as prisoners of war, thus setting the matter at rest. All past offenses of the sort were pardoned by proclamation from the British government, and the threat of the penalties of treason for future offenses of the same nature was never carried out.

In some instances the war had been conducted in a barbarous and vandalistic spirit by both parties. As we have seen, late in 1813 the Americans burned Newark, on the Canadian side of the Niagara river, in revenge for which the British crossed the river and reduced Buffalo and five other American towns to ashes. In revenge for the burning of the Parliament House at York, now Toronto, in Canada, by the Americans, the British burned the Capitol, the Executive Mansion and the other public buildings at Washington when they had captured the National capital and almost made a prisoner of President Madison.

London's principal entertainments of the time were sham battles displaying the cowardice of the Americans, ready to bring on a war, but too cowardly to fight.

The London *Times* thus spoke of President Madison:

"This fellow, notorious for lying, for imposture of all kinds, for his barbarous warfare, both in Canada and against the Creek Indians, for every thing in short that can debase and degrade a government."

The London *Sun* thus alluded to the American soldiers:

"The American armies, of copper captains and Falstaff recruits, defy the pen of satire to paint them worse than they are, worthless, lying, treacherous, false, slanderous, cowardly and vaporizing heroes, with boasting on their loud tongues and terror in their quaking hearts. Were it not that the course of punishment they are undergoing is necessary to the ends of moral and political justice, we declare before our country that we should feel ashamed of the victory over such ignoble foes. The quarrel resembles one between a gentleman and a chimney-sweeper; the former may beat the low scoundrel to his heart's contentment, but there is no honor in the exploit, and he is sure to be

**Barbarous
Warfare
on Both
Sides.**

**London
Comments on
American
Cowardice.**

covered with the soil and dirt of his ignominious antagonist. But the necessity will sometimes compel us to descend from our station to chastise a vagabond and endure the disgrace of a contest in order to repress, by wholesale correction, the presumptuous insolence and mischievous designs of the basest assailant."

Peace Preliminaries.

In less than a year after the war had begun the United States accepted an offer of Russian mediation, and the President sent envoys to Europe to treat for peace, clothing them with instructions relative to search and impressment and the question of blockades, March, 1813. The United States Congress had taken a step to facilitate the settlement of the search and impressment question by the passage of the law prohibiting the enlistment of British seamen in the United States navy. In the meantime the two governments had under consideration either London or Gottenburg, Sweden, as the place for the negotiations for a definitive treaty of peace to be undertaken.

American Peace Commissioners.

The disasters of the war on the American side along the Canadian frontier and on the New England coast in the campaigns of 1812 and 1813 made the American cause appear so gloomy that President Madison confessed his weakness by appointing John Quincy Adams, of Massachusetts; Henry Clay, of Kentucky; James A. Bayard, of Delaware; Albert Gallatin, of Pennsylvania; William Harris Crawford, of Georgia, and Jonathan Russell, of Massachusetts, as commissioners to negotiate a definitive treaty of peace with Great Britain, January and February, 1814.

American Gloom and Humiliation.

A darker day and deeper humiliation never had come over the American people than when the American commissioners had been appointed to meet British commissioners early in 1814 to negotiate for peace. The British looked upon the Americans as a defeated enemy begging for peace, and were resolved to avenge Saratoga and Yorktown by inflicting all the humiliation possible upon the American Nation. Henry Clay wrote from Europe to President Madison that a continuance of the war would be fatal to the United States. The overthrow of Napoleon Bonaparte early in 1814 by Great Britain and her allies, Russia, Prussia, Austria, Sweden, Spain and Portugal, gave the British a free hand to throw their whole military strength against the United States. It seemed very evident that if the Americans could not hold their own against the British when Great Britain's main military and naval power was employed against the greatest modern conqueror that the world ever saw they could not stand out against the whole British war power when that great conqueror was an exile at Elba. The United States had begun the war by taking the offensive, but were forced to assume the defensive during its last year, after failing in three attempts to conquer Canada.

The United States was without an active friend among the nations of the world. Great Britain even rejected the proffered mediation of her powerful ally, Russia, in behalf of peace between the two English-speaking nations. Knowing full well the desperate straits of the United States, Great Britain would grant peace to the Americans only on the most humiliating conditions, and the negotiations were protracted for months in consequence of the severity of the British terms. Not only did Great Britain stoutly maintain her doctrine of the right of search and impressment of suspected deserters from her navy; but she demanded that the United States give up to the Indians a large section of territory, embracing all of what now is comprised in the States of Michigan, Wisconsin and Illinois, the greater part of Indiana and about a third of Ohio, to constitute a sort of Indian sovereignty under British guaranty, never to be purchased by the United States and to serve as a sort of buffer state for the perpetual protection of the British American possessions against American ambition. The British also demanded that the Americans relinquish the right of keeping armed ships on the Great Lakes; cede a very large slice of Maine to Canada in order to make a road from Halifax to Quebec, and renew the provisions of the treaty of 1783 giving British subjects the right of navigating the Mississippi. Such was the humiliating alternative tendered by Great Britain to the United States in the spring of 1814.

It was only after news of General Jackson's subjugation of the Creek Indians, the allies of the British against the Americans, had reached Europe that the British relaxed the severity of their terms of peace and withdrew their demand for a cession of American territory, but only after months of fruitless negotiation and after the American commissioners had almost given up in despair. The overthrow of Napoleon Bonaparte by Great Britain and her European allies in the spring of 1814 also induced the United States to modify her demands upon Great Britain in relation to the British claims of the right of search and impressment. The Federalists asserted that this action of the Madison administration was due to fear of British power, so largely increased by the overthrow of Napoleon; but the administration and its party declared that the pacification of Europe did away with the very abuses of which the United States had complained, and that, therefore, it was unnecessary for the United States longer to insist upon the relinquishment of the right of search and impressment and the right of blockade—in short, that there would be no impressments or blockades in times of peace. At any rate, the American commissioners were instructed to leave these points for future negotiation.

The American and British commissioners finally met at Ghent, in Belgium, early in August, 1814, and set about the negotiations for a

Severity
of
British
Terms.

Conces-
sions on
Both
Sides.

Peace
Negotia-
tions at
Ghent.

definitive treaty of peace; but four and a half months passed before they came to terms. The British yielded their demands for the retention of conquests made during the war, as they desired to dispose of the American question in the uncertain condition of European affairs. Lord Liverpool, the British Prime Minister, wrote to Lord Castlereagh, the British plenipotentiary at the Congress of Vienna, which then was in session: "Some of our European allies may not be indisposed to favor the Americans, and if the Emperor of Russia should be desirous of taking up their cause we are well aware that there is a most powerful party to support him." The Duke of Wellington was asked to take command of the British forces in America. He agreed to do so, but advised peace, saying that there was "no vulnerable point of importance belonging to the United States" which the British could hold, "except New Orleans." Sir Edward Pakenham's disastrous defeat and death afterwards demonstrated that even that place could not be held by the British. Lord Castlereagh wrote from Vienna that the American war made little sensation there. But when this war was ended by the negotiations at Ghent the negotiations at Vienna were pushed forward with more ease than Great Britain had experienced previously.

**Peace of
Ghent.**

The Peace of Ghent, signed by the American and British commissioners the day before Christmas, December 24, 1814—one day more than two weeks before the battle of New Orleans—restored the conquests on both sides and provided commissioners to arrange the boundary question and minor issues between the two nations. But the treaty was humiliating to the Americans because they did not gain a single point for which they went to war with Great Britain, as that power refused resolutely to relinquish her doctrine of the right of search and impressment. This subject was not even mentioned in the treaty. The result of the war fully justified the Federalist contention that the contest was a wholly-useless one. As the treaty of peace was signed two weeks and one day before the battle of New Orleans was fought, and as the news of the treaty had not reached America in time to prevent the battle, that battle had no effect or influence upon the terms of the treaty. After the United States Senate had ratified the treaty, President Madison issued a proclamation of peace, February 18, 1815.

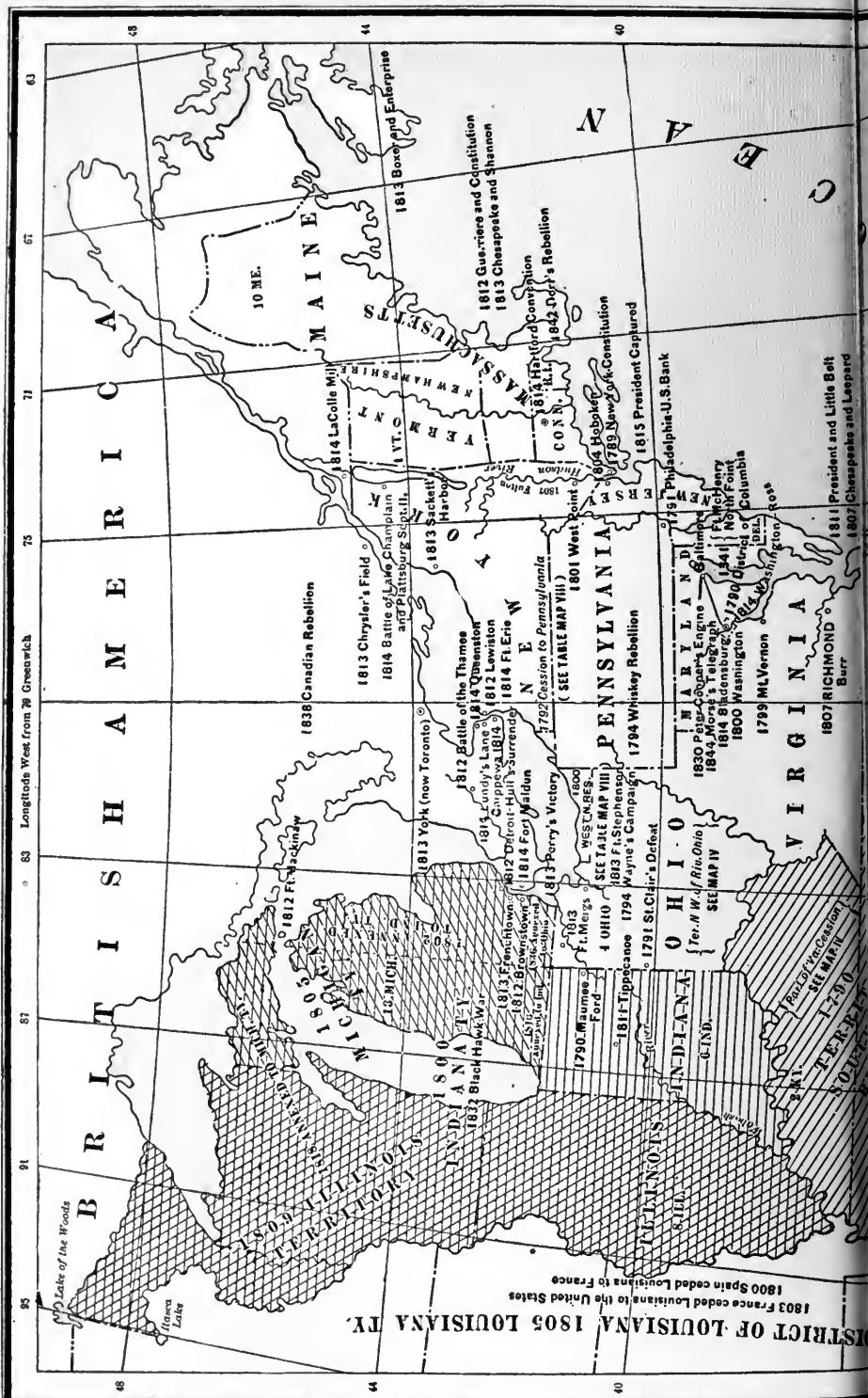
**The
Presi-
dent's
Recom-
menda-
tion.**

Within a week after proclaiming peace, the President recommended "the navigation of American vessels exclusively by American seamen, either natives or such as are already naturalized"; the reason assigned being "to guard against incidents which, during the periods of war in Europe, might tend to interrupt peace."

**Indian
Treaty.**

In September, 1815, the United States government concluded a treaty of peace with the Indians of Indiana, Illinois and Michigan Territories, by which the Indian tribes which had been at war with the







United States agreed to bury the tomahawk and sheathe the scalping-knife and to join with the friendly Indians in living at peace with the whites.

President Madison, in consenting to war as the price of his renomination and reëlection, had his reward; as the difficulties of his second term were more serious than those of any previous administration and weighed heavily upon him. The President and his party—in fact, the whole Nation—welcomed peace, as though the Republic had been plunging into an abyss which yawned at its feet. The National debt had been increased to one hundred and twenty million dollars—a large sum in those times. Some parts of the country had suffered more than others; commerce and some other industries had vanished; while the entire Nation was in a condition of temporary exhaustion.

Though the direct issues which led to the war were ignored entirely in the treaty of peace, yet there was a substantial gain for the United States in the fact that the great result of the war was to make the United States truly independent, for which reason the War of 1812 has often been called the *Second War for Independence*. Before that war, party politics in the United States turned on questions of the foreign policy of the Nation, and there was a pro-British and a pro-French party in the United States. Such was not the case thereafter, questions of a domestic nature thenceforth being the issues between the great political parties. Never after the War of 1812 did the American people hang in suspense upon British orders-in-council or French decrees; and never thereafter did they or their parties shape their policy only in accordance with foreign movements. The foreign aggressions preceding the war and which led to it had more to do in producing this beneficial result than the war itself, which simply hastened its final consummation.

National
Exhaustion.

Complete
American
Independ-
ence.

SECTION III.—MISSOURI COMPROMISE AND MONROE DOCTRINE (A. D. 1815–1825).

THE depression at the close of the war with Great Britain was accompanied by elation at the return of peace. All over the country men resumed their old enterprises or began new ones, without anxiety as to the present or the future. The National government exerted itself to promote the return of material prosperity. A new tariff law was enacted, both to increase the revenue and to protect domestic manufactures. Internal taxes were abolished by degrees, and the United States Bank was rechartered in March, 1816. The revival of National prosperity was very gradual, though it was uninterrupted, and the

Recovery
from the
War's
Effects.

general tendency was toward recovery from the disorders inflicted upon the country in consequence of the recent war with Great Britain.

War with Algiers. No sooner was the war with Great Britain terminated than the United States was obliged to engage in a short war with the piratical Barbary state of Algiers, in Northern Africa. Under the impression that the navy of the United States had been almost destroyed by that of Great Britain, the Algerines had become extremely insolent and committed depredations upon American commerce in the Mediterranean sea. Commodore Decatur, who was sent immediately to the Mediterranean with a United States squadron, captured two Algerine vessels on the 17th of June, 1815; and on the 28th (June, 1815), he appeared before the city of Algiers and demanded that all Americans held as prisoners should be set at liberty, that all destroyed American property should be indemnified and that all claims to tribute from the United States in future should be relinquished. Two days afterward (June 30, 1815) the Dey, or ruler of Algiers, greatly alarmed, assented to Decatur's conditions, and a treaty of peace was signed. Decatur also obtained satisfaction from the rulers of Tunis, Tripoli and Morocco; and thenceforth American commerce was not disturbed in the Mediterranean sea. The United States was the first power that made any determined efforts to stop the piratical proceedings of the Barbary states. Great Britain did the same thing in 1816, as already noticed.

Election of Monroe. In the election in the autumn of 1816 the Republican candidate for President, James Monroe, of Virginia, was elected by a large majority, with Daniel D. Tompkins, of New York, as Vice President. The Federalist candidates were Rufus King, of New York, for President, and John Eager Howard, of Maryland, for Vice President.

Admission of Indiana. During the last year of Madison's administration the Territory of Indiana was admitted into the Union as the State of Indiana, to which a strip of the southern part of the Michigan Territory was annexed, December 11, 1816.

President Monroe, A. D. 1817-1825. Mr. Monroe was inaugurated on the 4th of March, 1817. He selected a Cabinet of able men and entered upon the duties of his office with vigor, at a time when the Republic was recovering from the effects of the late war with Great Britain, when American commerce and manufactures were reviving and when the Nation was starting on a new and glorious career of prosperity, wealth, power and greatness.

Emigration to the West. During the war with Great Britain the prices of various commodities had become so high that the numerous manufacturing establishments in the United States had enjoyed a great degree of prosperity; but when, on the return of peace, British goods flooded the country at low prices these establishments ceased to flourish, and thousands were compelled to seek other occupations. This sudden change in the pecuniary con-

dition of so many thousands led to so large and rapid an emigration to the vast region west of the Alleghanies, which awaited the industry of the agriculturist, that in less than ten years four new and prosperous States had grown up in the recent vast wilderness.

In the latter part of 1817 the Seminole and Creek Indians began a series of murderous attacks upon the white settlers of Southern Georgia. General Jackson, with some Tennessee troops, marched against the hostile Indians. With the belief that the Creeks were protected by the Spanish authorities of Florida, Jackson marched into that country, captured the post of St. Mark's, sent the Spanish authorities to Pensacola and afterward to Havana, in Cuba, and hanged Alexander Arbuthnot and Robert C. Ambrister, British subjects, who were known to have excited the Indians to war.

The Spanish Minister at Washington protested against Jackson's invasion of Florida in a time of peace between Spain and the United States; and the United States government immediately ordered the restitution of the invaded province to Spain, though approving Jackson's general course.

Florida was a sore spot to the United States in many respects. The old disputes about the boundaries between Florida and the United States had never been settled. Fugitives from justice, runaway slaves, pirates, smugglers and warlike Indians used Florida as a place of refuge and as a starting-point. The Spanish authorities of Florida were not disposed or able to respect their neighbors of the United States. As President Monroe said in reference to Florida, "This country had, in fact, become the theater of every species of lawless adventure." Controversies about American indemnities and other disputes were left unsettled, and new troubles were added as a result of the Spanish American revolutions and the disposition of the people of the United States to furnish substantial aid to the revolutionists in their war for independence.

Under these circumstances the United States government renewed its earlier proposition to purchase Florida from Spain; but the early acceptance of this offer by Spain was retarded by disagreements respecting the boundary between Louisiana and the Spanish province of New Spain, or Mexico, but this boundary was finally settled to begin at the Sabine river, thus bringing the treaty for the cession of Florida to a conclusion; and on the payment of five million dollars by the United States government to American citizens who claimed indemnity from Spain that nation ceded East and West Florida to the United States on Washington's Birthday, 1819. In 1821 Spain ratified the treaty; and Florida Territory was organized in accordance with an act of Congress the same year, February, 1821.

Jackson's
Second
Invasion
of
Florida.

Spain's
Protest.

Contro-
versies
about
Florida.

Spain's
Cession of
Florida
to the
United
States.

Florida
Territory.

**Treaty
of 1818.**

In the meantime, in the year 1818, a treaty with Great Britain fixed the boundary line between the United States and British America at forty-nine degrees north latitude, from the Lake of the Woods to the Rocky Mountains.

**Five New
States.**

Five new States were admitted into the Union during Monroe's administration—Mississippi, in 1817; Illinois, in 1818; Alabama, in 1819; Maine, in 1820, and Missouri, in 1821. Mississippi was formed out of the western half of the Mississippi Territory, the eastern half of the same Territory then becoming the Alabama Territory, which became the State of the same name two years later. The northern part of Illinois Territory, embracing the present State of Wisconsin and the north-eastern part of Minnesota, was then annexed to Michigan Territory. Maine had been relinquished by Massachusetts; and Missouri was carved out of the Missouri Territory, being the second State formed out of the original vast Louisiana domain. In 1819 Arkansas Territory was formed, embracing the region comprised by the present State of that name and the region westward included since in Oklahoma and Indian Territory.

**Slavery
or
Freedom
in
Missouri.**

When the proposition for the admission of Missouri was brought forward in Congress, in 1819, angry debates arose as to whether it should be admitted as a Free or a Slave State. This was the first great contest for supremacy in the Republic between the friends and the opponents of slavery. Missouri was already slave territory; but when it was moved to admit her as a State, James W. Tallmadge, of New York, made a motion in the National House of Representatives that no more slaves be admitted into the proposed new State and that the children of those already there be emancipated at the age of twenty-five. This motion passed the House of Representatives, but it was lost in the Senate. Then John W. Taylor, another New York Representative, moved to prohibit slavery in the whole Territory to the north of thirty-six degrees and thirty minutes north latitude; but this motion was defeated by the House. A bill establishing the part of Missouri Territory to the south of the line just designated was passed, naming that region the Territory of Arkansas, March, 1819; the admission of Missouri as a State being delayed for the time.

**Intense
Agitation
of the
Slavery
Question.**

The agitation was of a character sufficiently bitter to plunge the Nation into the horrors of civil war. Many in the Northern, or Free States felt that the time had arrived to make a determined stand against the further extension of slavery. In opposition to this view, the projected restriction of slavery was denounced as an infringement of the rights of the Southern, or Slave States, and as a prelude to a negro massacre, a civil war, a dissolution of the Union. The venerable Thomas Jefferson, from his home at Monticello, Virginia, wrote sorrow-

fully: "The Missouri question is a breaker on which we lose the Missouri country by revolt, and what more God only knows. From the battle of Bunker's Hill to the Treaty of Paris we never had so ominous a question." John Adams, from his home at Quincy, Massachusetts, wrote more hopefully: "I hope it will follow the other waves under the ship and do no harm."

The agitation throughout the Union was intense. Public meetings were held in both sections of the country. The meetings in the Slave States sought to repel the interference of the Free States. The meetings in the Free States rebuked the pretensions of the Slave States. The controversy entered the State Courts and the State Legislatures, those in the North declaring that Missouri must be a Free State, while those in the South asserted that the proposed new State must be open to the settlement of slaveholders with their slave property the same as any other property.

Angry
Public
Discus-
sions.

It was a most momentous question. A Massachusetts Congressman remarked: "Scarcely ever was so great a question before a human tribunal." The whole vast domain originally called Louisiana, as well as Missouri, was to be opened or closed to slavery. Not only the few thousand slaves within the proposed new State, but the hundreds of thousands to follow them into the new State and beyond it, were to be disposed of by the settlement to be arrived at. The anti-slavery party insisted upon the right and duty of Congress to consecrate Missouri to freedom. The pro-slavery party insisted that Congress had no right to interfere; that a State alone had the right to determine whether it should be a Free State or a Slave State, and that in the case of Missouri especially the new State itself had no other alternative than to allow slavery, as it was bound by the treaty under which Missouri, as a part of the original Louisiana, had been acquired, and by which the inhabitants, being admitted to all the rights of citizens of the United States, had been admitted to all the rights of slaveholders of the United States.

Momen-
tous
Issue.

There was another argument to the question. The Union at that time embraced twenty-two States, exactly half of this number being Free States, the other half being Slave States. As Alabama, the last preceding State admitted, was a Slave State, it was argued in the North that the next State to be admitted ought to be a Free State. When, upon the reassembling of Congress, in December, 1820, Maine, which thus far had been a part of Massachusetts, sought admission into the Union as a separate State the argument was turned to the other side, it being urged in the South that, as Maine was to be a Free State without dispute, Missouri ought to be a Slave State, to preserve the balance in the number of Free and Slave States in the Union.

Balance
of Free
and
Slave
States.

UNITED STATES OF AMERICA.

Missouri
Compro-
mise Bill
in the
United
States
Senate.

The United States Senate united Maine and Missouri in the same bill and on the same terms, without any restriction whatever upon slavery; but Senator Jesse B. Thomas, of Illinois, moved a clause prohibiting slavery in any part of the Louisiana domain not yet organized, thus leaving the State of Louisiana and the Territory of Arkansas, as well as Missouri, just what they then were—slave territory. The line of thirty-six degrees and thirty minutes north latitude—proposed the previous year—was again proposed, with the reservation that Missouri, though north of that line, was to be a Slave State. This compromise measure was proposed by the North, on whose part it conceded Missouri to slavery, while on the part of the South it yielded to freedom the vast region west of Missouri and north of thirty-six degrees and thirty minutes north latitude, the dividing line between slavery and freedom running westward from the southern boundary of Missouri.

Adoption
of the
Missouri
Compro-
mise.

While the United States Senate was discussing and adopting the foregoing compromise, the National House of Representatives passed a bill providing for the admission of Missouri, separately from Maine and restricting slavery. Angry debates followed and the most intense excitement prevailed. Henry Clay, still a Representative from Kentucky, wrote that the subject “engrosses the whole thoughts of the members and constitutes almost the only topic of conversation.” A committee of conference, of the two Houses of Congress, prepared the way for an agreement of both Houses on a bill for the admission of Missouri, after the formation of her State Constitution, free of restrictions, but prohibiting slavery north of the line of thirty-six degrees and thirty minutes north latitude, March 3, 1820. At the same time Maine was admitted as a Free State, March 3, 1820. Such was the famous *Missouri Compromise*, of which Henry Clay was regarded as the author, as he was of the Tariff Compromise of 1833 and the Compromise of 1850.

Various
Interpre-
tations
of the
Compro-
mise.

The Missouri Compromise prohibited slavery forever in the vast region west of that State and north of the designated line of thirty-six degrees and thirty minutes north latitude. Such was the letter of the law, but it was interpreted variously. When President Monroe consulted his Cabinet upon approving the act of Congress upon the subject all except his Secretary of State, John Quincy Adams, were disposed to construe the prohibition of slavery as applying only to the Territories of the United States and not to the States that afterwards might be erected out of those Territories. This was not a difference of opinion between Northern and Southern men; but it was a difference of view between a strict and a liberal interpretation of the National Constitution, the strict constructionists denying to Congress all power and right to restrict a State, while the liberal constructionists main-

tained the right of Congress to fix the conditions under which a State can be admitted into the Union.

These different constructions also prevailed outside of the Cabinet, among jurists and constitutional lawyers. Among the members of Congress voting for the Compromise were many who, no doubt, understood it as applying to Territories only and not to new States. The Free State party, unquestionably, adopted the broader interpretation, prohibiting a State, as well as a Territory, from establishing slavery. This difference of view as to the meaning of the Compromise augured ill for the future domestic peace of the American Union, being a dark prelude to what was to occur forty years later.

Perfect tranquillity was not yet fully restored. Rejoicing in becoming a Slave State, Missouri adopted a State Constitution which prohibited the State Legislature from emancipating the slaves or from permitting the immigration of free negroes. When this subject was brought before Congress, near the end of the year 1820, various tactics were adopted, the extreme pro-slavery party favoring the immediate admission of Missouri, while the extreme anti-slavery party urged the subversion of the State, the State Constitution and the Compromise together.

Henry Clay, as the leader of the moderate party, after long exertions, finally succeeded in securing the passage of a bill providing for the admission of Missouri as soon as her Legislature should solemnly covenant the rights of citizenship to "the citizens of either of the States," February, 1821. This requirement was complied with by Missouri, which therefore was admitted into the Union as a Slave State, August 10, 1821.

In the neighboring State of Illinois was a large and influential party that seemed resolved upon the establishment of slavery within the borders of that State. As the Illinois Constitution, as well as the Congressional Ordinance of 1787, forbade slavery in Illinois, an effort was made to call a State convention to get rid of the prohibition. The State Legislature agreed to this; but the Governor of the State, Edward Coles, assumed the leadership of the anti-slavery cause; and, after a bitter contest of eighteen months, Illinois was saved to freedom, 1822-'23.

Most slaveholders were as willing as the anti-slavery people to resist the slave trade. More than fourteen thousand slaves were said to have been imported into the United States in the year 1818. In 1819 Congress passed an act imposing new and severe penalties on the slave trader and providing for the restoration of the unfortunate victims to their native Africa. In 1820 Congress passed an act stigmatizing the slave trade as piracy.

Views of
Jurists
and
Lawyers.

Missouri
State
Constitu-
tion.

Admis-
sion of
Missouri.

Attempt
to Make
Illinois
a Slave
State.

Prohibi-
tion
of the
Slave
Trade.

Re-election of Monroe.

In the autumn of 1820 Monroe and Tompkins were re-elected President and Vice President by an almost unanimous Electoral vote, only one Electoral vote being cast for Secretary of State John Quincy Adams, the Presidential candidate of the dissatisfied elements of both parties. The old Federalist party was almost extinct, and the administration was very popular. Among the important events of the administration of Monroe was the recognition of the independence of Mexico and the South American republics by the United States, when the President declared, as a principle, "that the American continents are not henceforth to be considered as subjects for future colonization by any European power." This is known as the *Monroe Doctrine*.

Monroe Doctrine.**Canning as Its Instigator.**

The famous Monroe Doctrine, of which so much has been said within late years, was not of American origin, but of British origin. Its author was not President Monroe or his Secretary of State, John Quincy Adams, but was suggested first by the famous British statesman, George Canning, while Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs in Lord Liverpool's Ministry, as early as 1818.

His Reasons and Aims.

Canning urged the principle of this famous doctrine upon the United States government through Richard Rush, the United States Minister in London during Monroe's administration, while John Quincy Adams was Secretary of State. The reason given by Canning for his policy on this question was the action of that famous alliance of the four Great Powers of Continental Europe—Russia, Prussia, Austria and France—which had entered on a crusade against the progress of liberalism, constitutionalism and democracy in Europe and in the interest of absolutism and autocracy, for which purpose they formed the celebrated *Holy Alliance*.

Course of the Holy Alliance.

The Holy Alliance had crushed the insurrections against absolutism in Naples, Piedmont and Spain; in the two Italian kingdoms by Austrian troops in 1820 and 1821, and in Spain by a French army of one hundred thousand men under the Duke of Angoulême in 1823.

Full Accord of Great Britain and the United States as to Spanish America.

Great Britain and the United States, which agreed in their policy respecting the Spanish American republics, which just then were achieving their independence of Spain after a bloody struggle of more than a dozen years, feared and suspected that the Holy Alliance, under Russia's leadership, would extend to the American continent their policy of crushing liberty and republicanism and aid Spain to recover her lost American colonies. Great Britain and the United States had given their moral support to the Spanish American colonies in their struggle for independence against the despotic power of Spain and recognized their independence, and British subjects and American citizens had aided by arms the revolted Spanish American colonies in their fight for freedom and independence.

Thus before the present Anglo-American era of good feeling did the two great kindred English-speaking nations coöperate in the cause of liberty—a policy commended heartily by Thomas Jefferson, who contended that with the powerful aid of Great Britain the United States would be able to withstand the encroachments of the despotic crowned heads of Continental Europe upon the infant republics of the New World. Jefferson contended that Great Britain was the power which could do the United States the most harm as an enemy and the most good as a friend.

Jefferson's Approval of this Anglo-American Accord.

Canning, who was a disciple of that great British statesman of the stirring period of the French Revolution and of Napoleon Bonaparte's wars, the younger William Pitt, had assigned the following reason for suggesting the principle and policy bearing the name of the Monroe Doctrine: "I resolved that if France should have Spain it should not be Spain with the Indies. I called the New World into existence to redress the balance of the Old."

Canning's Stated Reason for His Action.

Acting upon Canning's advice and in accordance with Secretary of State John Quincy Adams's recommendation, President Monroe, in a message to Congress, in December, 1823, formulated the principles and policy of the celebrated doctrine bearing his name in the following words:

President Monroe's Message in 1823.

"We owe it, therefore, to candor and to the amicable relations existing between the United States and the allied Powers, to declare that we should consider any attempt on their part to extend their system to any part of this hemisphere as dangerous to our peace and safety. With the existing colonies or dependencies of any European Power we have not interfered and shall not interfere; but with the governments who have declared their independence and maintained it, and whose independence we have on great consideration and just principles acknowledged, we could not view any interposition for the purpose of oppressing them, or controlling in any other manner their destiny by any European Power, in any other light than as a manifestation of an unfriendly disposition towards the United States."

Its Words.

As expounded and interpreted by its promulgators and advocates, the newly-proclaimed Monroe Doctrine had a twofold purpose. It showed the intention of the United States to prevent the European Powers from extending their system of government to the American continent to subvert the republican institutions thereon existing or to plant on this continent their own monarchical institutions wherever they could find a spot. The first point was to protect all the republics of Spanish America. The second was to protect the still-unoccupied regions of the New World. Although Congress declined to take final action on the Monroe Doctrine, the President's message struck a popu-

Twofold Purpose of the Monroe Doctrine.

lar chord, and its sentiments found a ready echo in the hearts of the people of the United States.

**Aims
of the
Holy
Alliance.**

The great monarchies of Continental Europe forming the Holy Alliance, whose soul and inspiration was the stern despot, Emperor Alexander I. of Russia, after the overthrow of Napoleon I. resolved to stamp out every vestige of the French Revolution; and with this view they resolved to crush out every manifestation of democracy, republicanism, liberalism and constitutionalism, not only in Europe, but, if possible, also in the colonies and dependencies of European nations in other parts of the world.

**Project
of the
Holy
Alliance
Frus-
trated
by Great
Britain.**

There was, therefore, the best reason for the fear and suspicion of Great Britain and the United States that the Holy Alliance would make an effort to restore Spain's dominion in the New World, even after the Spanish Americans had fairly won their independence by force of arms against their mother country, especially as recorded in the memoirs of Prince Metternich, the distinguished Austrian statesman and Chancellor of the Austrian Empire from 1815 to 1848, that in the summer of 1824, after the promulgation of the Monroe Doctrine, the Spanish Minister of Foreign Affairs proposed a conference at Paris to consider Spanish American affairs. France, Austria, Prussia and Russia assented, but Great Britain's opposition defeated the project.

**Jefferson's
View.**

When President Monroe was considering his celebrated message in which he enunciated the Monroe Doctrine he invoked the advice of his two immediate predecessors, ex-Presidents Jefferson and Madison. In reply Jefferson wrote as follows:

"America, North and South, has a set of interests distinct from those of Europe and peculiarly her own. She should therefore have a system of her own separate and apart from that of Europe. While the last is laboring to become the domicile of despotism our endeavor should surely be to make our hemisphere that of freedom. One nation most of all could disturb us in this pursuit. She now offers to lead, aid and accompany us in it. By acceding to her propositions we detach her from the bands, bring her mighty weight into the scale of free government and emancipate a continent at one stroke. * * * Great Britain is the nation which can do us the most harm of any one of all on earth, and with her on our side we need not fear the whole world. With her, then, we should sedulously cherish a cordial friendship, and nothing would tend more to knit our affections than to be fighting once more side by side in the same cause."

* * * *

"But the war in which the present proposition might engage us, should that be its consequence, is not her war, but ours. Its object

is to introduce and establish the American system of keeping out of our land all foreign powers, of never permitting those of Europe to intermeddle with the affairs of our nations. It is to maintain our own principle, not to depart from it. And if to facilitate this we can effect a division in the body of the European powers and draw over to our side its most powerful member, surely we should do it. But I am clearly of Mr. Canning's opinion that it will prevent instead of provoke war. With Great Britain withdrawn from their scale and shifted into that of our continents, all Europe combined would not undertake such a war. For how would they propose to get at either enemy without superior fleets? Nor is the occasion to be slighted which this proposition offers of declaring our protest against the atrocious violations of the rights of nations by the interference of any one in the internal affairs of another, so flagitiously begun by Bonaparte and now continued by the equally-lawless alliance calling itself holy."

The following is ex-President Madison's reply to President Monroe: Madison's View.

"From the disclosures of Mr. Canning it appears, as was otherwise to be inferred, that the success of France against Spain would be followed by an attempt of the holy allies to reduce the revolutionized colonies of the latter to the former dependence.

"The professions we have made to these neighbors; our sympathies with their liberties and independence; the deep interest we have in the most friendly relations with them, and the consequences threatened by a command of their resources by the great powers confederated against the rights and reforms of which we have given so conspicuous and persuasive an example, all unite in calling for our efforts to defeat the meditated crusade. It is particularly fortunate that the policy of Great Britain, though guarded by calculations different from ours, has presented a coöperation for an object the same with ours. With the coöperation we have nothing to fear from the rest of Europe, and with it the best assurance of success to our laudable views. There ought not, therefore, to be any backwardness, I think, in meeting her in the way she has proposed, keeping in view of course the spirit and forms of the Constitution in every step taken in the road to war, which must be the last step if those short of war should be without avail."

The United States House of Representatives adopted the following resolution in 1825:

House of
Repre-
sent-
atives
in 1825.

"That the United States ought not to become a party with the Spanish American republics, or either of them, to any joint declaration for the purpose of preventing interference by any of the European powers with their independence or form of government, or to any compact for the purpose of preventing colonization upon the

continents of America, but that the people of the United States should be left free to act in any crisis in such a manner as their feelings and friendship towards those republics and as their own honor and policy may at the time dictate."

Other Views.

The following as views and expositions of the Monroe Doctrine are of interest, as expressing the opinions of such eminent statesmen of the earlier years of the great American Republic as John Quincy Adams, Benton, Webster, Clay and Calhoun.

John Quincy Adams's View.

John Quincy Adams, as President Monroe's Secretary of State, asserted that "each [American republic] will guard by its own means against the establishment of any future European colony within its borders."

Webster's View.

Said the distinguished Massachusetts orator and statesman, Daniel Webster, concerning the newly-proclaimed Monroe Doctrine: "The President's message found a corresponding response in the breasts of the free people of the United States." Webster also said in reference to the Monroe Doctrine: "There will be, I trust, an American policy."

Benton's View.

The following is from a speech of the Hon. Thomas Hart Benton, of Missouri, in the United States Senate, during a debate on the Monroe Doctrine:

"This is very far from being a pledge to take up arms in defense of the invaded American states. We have not undertaken to stand guard over the New World and repulse all intrusive colonists from its shores, and nothing could be more erroneous or more at war with our established principles of non-interference with other nations."

Calhoun's View.

The next quotation is from a speech of the renowned John Caldwell Calhoun, of South Carolina, in the United States Senate, while the Monroe Doctrine was a subject of debate:

"The doctrine must be limited by the conditions under which it was made. Otherwise it would have involved the absurdity of asserting that the attempt of any European state to extend its system of government to this continent, the smallest as well as the greatest, would endanger the peace and safety of our country."

Clay's View.

The following is the exposition of the Monroe Doctrine by the distinguished Kentucky statesman, Henry Clay, when Secretary of State in President John Quincy Adams's Cabinet, a few years after the promulgation of the famous doctrine.

"In December, 1823, the then President of the United States, in his annual message upon the opening of Congress, announced as a principle applicable to this continent, which ought hereafter to be insisted on, that no European nation ought to be allowed to plant upon it new colonies. It was not proposed by that principle to disturb

pre-existing European colonies already established in America; the principle looked forward, not backward."

The same message in which President Monroe enunciated his celebrated doctrine also spoke for freedom in the Old World, in its allusion to Greece's struggle for liberation from the galling Turkish yoke, which struggle was then attracting the attention of Europe and America. When the Greek War for Independence broke out in 1821 the Messenian Senate had appealed to the United States for aid in its gigantic struggle with its Moslem oppressor. In the United States, as throughout Europe, popular sympathy was on the side of the struggling Greek patriots; and individual Americans had given personal services and financial aid, and now the President's message reflected the sentiment of the American people. Daniel Webster and Henry Clay pleaded the Greek cause on the floors of Congress, Webster urging the appointment of a commission to Greece and all the moral support that could be given to a good cause; while an American poet, Fitz-Greene Halleck, immortalized his own name by his beautiful poem on the heroic death of the Greek patriot, Marco Bozzaris, on the field of victory.

In August, 1824, the beloved Lafayette arrived in the United States, as the guest of the Nation for whose independence he had fought so valiantly nearly half a century before. During a period of eleven months he visited twenty States of the Union, being everywhere received with demonstrations of gratitude. The frigate *Brandywine*, in compliment to him, conveyed him back to his delightful France, starting in September, 1825. Congress voted him a township of land and a grant of two hundred thousand dollars as a reward for his services in the cause of American Independence.

In the Autumn of 1824 there were four candidates in the field for the Presidency. As not one of them had received a majority of the Electoral vote, the election was carried to the House of Representatives, when John Quincy Adams, of Massachusetts, son of President John Adams, was chosen President, and John Caldwell Calhoun, of South Carolina, was elected Vice President. The Federalist party had ceased to exist; and the four candidates for President belonged to the Republican party, which soon began to be called the Democratic party, which name it has borne ever since. The other three Presidential candidates were General Andrew Jackson, of Tennessee; Henry Clay, of Kentucky, and William Harris Crawford, of Georgia. As the Presidential campaign of that year was a political contest of candidates and sections rather than of party principles, there being no vital issues at stake, there was a consequent absence of the political rancor of the previous campaigns.

Monroe's
Appeal
for
Strug-
gling
Greece.

Lafay-
ette's
Visit.

Election
of John
Quincy
Adams.

SECTION IV.—STATE RIGHTS, TARIFF COMPROMISE, ANTI-SLAVERY (A. D. 1825–1845).

**President
John
Quincy
Adams,
A. D.
1825–
1829.**

**Pan-
American
Congress
at
Panama.**

**The
State
Rights
Question.**

JOHN QUINCY ADAMS was inaugurated on the 4th of March, 1825, when the United States was at peace with all the world and when there was an absence of political rancor at home because of the disappearance of the Federalist party, so that this period is known as the “Era of Good Feeling.”

In the beginning of John Quincy Adams's administration the government of the United States received an invitation from some of the Spanish American republics to unite with them in a Pan-American Congress at Panama. The objects of this Congress were rather indefinite, but embraced all subjects from mere commercial regulations to the Monroe Doctrine. The President appointed two envoys, and the Senate confirmed them and the House of Representatives made the necessary appropriations, though with considerable opposition, December, 1825–March, 1826. One of the envoys soon died, and the other did not go on his mission, so that the United States was not represented in the Congress, which was in session in June and July, 1826, and adjourned to meet at Tacubaya, Mexico, early in 1827. The envoys of the United States proceeded to Tacubaya at the appointed time, but no Congress assembled there.

The question of State Rights versus National supremacy began to assume importance at this period. The alleged right of a State to nullify any act of the National Congress which it considered unconstitutional was but another method of asserting that the State, not the Nation, was sovereign, and was practically an assumption of State sovereignty under the authority of the National Constitution. As we have seen, this doctrine had been maintained by Jefferson and Madison and by the Resolutions of the Virginia and Kentucky Legislatures in 1798, also by the New England Federalists as reflected by the Massachusetts and Connecticut Legislatures and the Hartford Convention in 1814. This doctrine was now reasserted and became the great question before the American people during the administrations of John Quincy Adams and Andrew Jackson.

**Georgia
Contro-
versy.**

This question assumed shape when, in the earlier part of John Quincy Adams's administration, there was a controversy between the National government and the State of Georgia concerning the removal of the Indians within the borders of that State. The National government had agreed to remove the Indians to the region west of the Mississippi river when it could be done peaceably, buying the lands of the Creeks and Cherokees within the limits of the State, in con-

sideration of Georgia's cession of the territory embraced in the present Alabama and Mississippi to the United States many years before. Some difficulty with the Creeks, who had not been treated justly, delayed their removal. The Governor of Georgia, assuming State supremacy, threatened to remove them immediately. The National government interfered in behalf of the Indians, and the difficulty perhaps would have ended in civil war had not the National government taken a firm stand. Governor Troup, of Georgia, accused the administration of anti-slavery motives in the matter, called upon the neighboring States to stand by their arms and even sent surveyors into the Indian country. President John Quincy Adams communicated the matter to Congress, asserting his determination to enforce the laws and fulfill the duties of the Nation by all the force committed to his charge for that purpose. Thereupon Governor Troup wrote to the Secretary of War: "From the first decisive act of hostility you will be considered and treated as a public enemy." The threatened storm was averted; and the Indians, in consideration of a large annuity which was to be paid to them from the National treasury, agreed to remove peacefully to the country west of the Mississippi, in what since has been the Indian Territory, which has been set apart as a general home for the Indians.

John Quincy Adams's administration is celebrated for various internal improvements. The Great Erie Canal, which connects the Hudson river with Lake Erie, in the State of New York, was completed in 1825 through the exertions of the distinguished De Witt Clinton. The first railroad in the United States was finished in Quincy, Massachusetts, in 1827.

Erie
Canal.

The fiftieth anniversary of American Independence, or the 4th of July, 1826, was made memorable by a strange coincidence, which made a profound impression throughout the United States. On that day John Adams died at Quincy, Massachusetts, and Thomas Jefferson, at Monticello, Virginia. Those two statesmen had been the most earnest advocates of independence; each had signed the great Declaration; each had been a member of the Continental Congress, afterward Vice President, and lastly President of the United States.

Deaths
of John
Adams
and
Thomas
Jefferson.

In 1827 an event occurred which caused great excitement throughout the country and led to the formation of a new and for a time a formidable but short-lived political party. William Morgan, a native of Virginia, but then a resident of Western New York, announced his intention to publish a book in which the secrets of Free Masonry were to be disclosed to the public. One evening he was kidnapped secretly by several men in a carriage and taken away from Canandagua, being never seen thereafter. A dead body found afterward in the Niagara

Anti-
Masons.

river was said to have been that of Morgan, and Free Masons were charged with his murder. An anti-Masonic party was formed quickly and carried some of the State elections.

American System. It was during the administration of John Quincy Adams that the principle of encouraging home manufactures by imposing duties on foreign articles of the same kind became a settled national policy in the United States and was called the *American System*. That policy was very popular with the manufacturers of the Northern section of the Union; but the planters of the cotton-growing States, who found a ready market for their raw cotton in England, opposed it. A tariff law enacted in 1828 was made to appear very unjust to the Southern planters by John C. Calhoun and other Southern politicians, who taught the doctrines of "State Rights" and "Nullification."

Southern Opposition Thereto. The tariff of 1816 was intended to aid the Nation in recovering from the losses of the War of 1812 and to protect domestic manufactures against importations from foreign countries. It was then urged by the Southern States in the opinion that cotton would command higher prices if manufactured at home, and was opposed by the Northern States, particularly the New England States, whose interests then were more commercial than manufacturing or agricultural. But after the adoption of the tariff the Northern and Middle States invested more and more of their capital in manufactures, while the cotton-growing States of the South continued to raise the raw material without attempting to manufacture it into fabrics. Thus the North and the South changed views on the tariff question, the South becoming opposed violently to protective duties, one of the Southern leaders declaring that Southern interests had been sacrificed shamefully, while the manufacturers of cotton, woolen, hemp, iron and other materials in the New England and Middle States demanded protection, holding a convention for that purpose at Harrisburg, Pennsylvania, in July and August, 1827, saying: "We want protection, and it matters not if it amounts to prohibition." The result was the tariff law of 1828.

Protest of South Carolina. South Carolina, Georgia and Virginia declared the tariff act of 1828 to be unconstitutional. South Carolina's Legislature even went so far as to issue an "exposition and protest," in which was made a threat of resistance on the part of that State to the National government, December, 1828. This exposition and protest argued thus: "The existence of the right of judging of their powers, clearly established from the sovereignty of the States, as clearly implies a veto or control on the action of the general government on contested points of authority; and this very control is the remedy which the Constitution has provided to prevent the encroachment of the general government on

the reserved rights of the States. * * * There exists a case [the tariff] which would justify the interposition of this State, and thereby compel the general government to abandon an unconstitutional power." Daniel Webster wrote: "In December, 1828, I became thoroughly convinced that the plan of a Southern Confederation had been received with favor by a great many of the political men of the South." The inevitable consequence of nullification was secession, which was attempted a third of a century later, precipitating the Civil War.

In the Presidential election of 1828 General Andrew Jackson, of Tennessee, was chosen President of the United States, and John C. Calhoun, of South Carolina, was reelected Vice President; thus defeating President John Quincy Adams for reelection. The Republican party had become divided, Jackson and Calhoun being the candidates of the portion thereafter called the Democratic party, while John Quincy Adams and Richard Rush, of Pennsylvania, were the candidates of the portion called the National Republican party.

Election
of
Jackson.

General Jackson was inaugurated, on the 4th of March, 1829, seventh President of the United States. He formed a Cabinet from his political friends and entered upon the duties of his exalted station with a determined will and with incorruptible integrity. His first act was to remove hundreds of public officials for the purpose of providing places for his political followers, thus giving practical effect to the doctrine that "to the victors belong the spoils." In this he established a new precedent, as his six predecessors altogether had made only sixty-four removals from office.

President
Jackson,
A. D.
1829—
1837.

Spoils
System.

President Jackson's action in thus giving a partisan character to his administration was fully acceptable to the majority of the American people, who argued that it was right that the inferior officers of the government should hold the same views as the superior officials, as such a condition was demanded in the interest of harmony. Besides, much stress was laid on the necessity of reforming the administration, as the extravagance of the preceding administration had been heralded all over the land by Jackson's partisans.

Popular
Justifica-
tion
Therefor.

In his first annual message to Congress in December, 1829, President Jackson strongly opposed a renewal of the charter of the United States Bank and favored a lowering of the tariff of 1828, practically recommending concessions to the demands of South Carolina and other dissatisfied States. In May, 1830, Congress slightly modified the tariff, thus furnishing a precedent of the giving way by the Nation to the demands of a State.

Jackson's
First
Message.

In the meantime Daniel Webster had nobly defended the Nation's sovereignty in the United States Senate. In December, 1829, Senator Foot, of Connecticut, offered a resolution in the Senate concerning

**Hayne's
Speech
in the
United
States
Senate.**

the disposition of the public lands; but the public lands were forgotten in the debates which followed regarding the relative powers of the States and the National government. Robert Young Hayne, a United States Senator from South Carolina, supported the theories of State sovereignty as advocated by his State; but everybody was well aware that he was speaking for a greater South Carolina statesman and orator, John Caldwell Calhoun, Vice President of the United States for a second term and still more influential as the leader in the nullification movement.

**Webster's
Masterly
Reply.**

Hayne's first speech on the State sovereignty question, January 19, 1830, was answered by Webster the next day so effectually that Hayne's reply was not completed for several days, when Webster spoke the second time, January 26, 1830, with the greatest effect ever witnessed in either House of Congress. He argued ably that the National government is not a mere league or compact of sovereign independent States, but a government established by the people of the United States, and that it could be resisted only by an appeal from one of its branches to another or by the right of revolution against them all. Said this great "Defender of the Constitution," as he was called thereafter: "I trust that the crisis has in some measure passed by."

**Bad
Temper
in
Congress.**

But even Webster did not see then how the perilous crisis continued. The bad temper in Congress early in 1831 was described by a visitor thus: "When we entered the House there was a debate going on relative to a reduction of the duty on salt. Some Southern members spoke with great vehemence, but nobody on the floor paid any attention to them. They spoke of their oppression; of throwing themselves on the sovereignty of their States; of being goaded to rebellion; of the time being near when vengeance should stalk about these halls. It was melancholy to see such feelings aroused among our countrymen and more painful to see them disregarded."

**Nullifi-
cation
by South
Carolina.**

The crisis continued more than a year and finally culminated in a threatened outbreak of civil war late in 1832. Having reduced the high duties on some articles, but leaving them on others, Congress refused to abandon the principle of protection in the new tariff of 1832. The South Carolina members of Congress immediately united with Vice President Calhoun in an address declaring their belief that "the protecting system must now be regarded as the settled policy of the country," and recommending a struggle to transmit to posterity "the rights and liberties received as a precious inheritance from an illustrious ancestry." The South Carolina Legislature summoned a State convention, which met at Columbia, the State capital, under the presidency of Governor Hamilton, November 19, 1832, and a few days later passed an ordinance declaring that "the several acts, and parts

of acts, purporting to be laws for imposing duties on importation * * * are unauthorized by the Constitution of the United States, and violate the true intent and meaning thereof, and are null and void, and no law, nor binding upon the State of South Carolina, its officers and citizens; * * * and that it shall be the duty of the Legislature to adopt such measures and pass such acts as may be necessary to give full effect to this ordinance, and to prevent the enforcement and arrest the operation of the said acts, and parts of acts, of the Congress of the United States within the limits of the State," November 24, 1832.

In this instance South Carolina went farther than any of her predecessors in nullification. The ordinance of the State concluded thus: "We, the people of South Carolina, do further declare that we will not submit to the application of force on the part of the federal government, to reduce this State to obedience, but that we will consider the passage by Congress of any act * * * to enforce the acts hereby declared to be null and void, otherwise than through the civil tribunals of the country, as inconsistent with the longer continuance of South Carolina in the Union; and that the people of this State * * * will forthwith proceed to organize a separate government." This was more than nullification; it was secession.

Governor Hamilton informed the State Legislature a few days after the adoption of the foregoing ordinance by the State convention in the following words: "The die has been at last cast, and South Carolina has at length appealed to her ulterior sovereignty as a member of this confederacy. * * * That it brings up a juncture of deep and momentous interest is neither to be concealed nor denied." The Legislature responded unhesitatingly to the convention by passing a series of acts prohibiting the collection of duties and providing for volunteers, or, if necessary, the entire State militia, to resist such collection by force of arms.

The National government was as resolute as was South Carolina. President Jackson was eminently adapted to meet such a crisis as then had arrived. He did not waver an instant, but met the crisis promptly by a proclamation in which he warned the South Carolina nullifiers that the laws of the United States would be enforced by military power, if necessary, and ordered a National vessel to the support of the United States officials at Charleston. In his proclamation he went on to say: "No act of violent opposition to the laws has yet been committed; but such a state of things is hourly apprehended; and it is the intent of this instrument to proclaim not only that the duty imposed on me by the Constitution, to take care that the laws be faithfully executed, shall be performed, * * * but to warn the citizens of South Carolina * * * that the course they are urged to

Her Threat of Secession.

Action of Her State Convention, Governor and Legislature.

President Jackson's Proclamation.

pursue is one of ruin and disgrace to the very State whose right they affect to support," December, 1832. The President's appeal to the South Carolinians was the more forcible from the fact that it came from one of themselves, as it were, Jackson himself being a South Carolinian by birth.

His
Message
to
Congress.

In an elaborate message to Congress, January 16, 1833, President Jackson denounced both nullification and secession, maintaining that "the result of each is the same; since a State in which, by a usurpation of power, the constitutional authority of the federal government is openly defied and set aside wants only the form to be independent of the Union." The President then went on to recount the measures he had taken and to propose those he considered necessary for Congress to take. After some delay, Congress responded by the passage of an enforcing act, of which the primary object was to secure the collection of customs in the ports of South Carolina. To this action of Congress, John Caldwell Calhoun, who had resigned as Vice President of the United States in order to represent South Carolina in the United States Senate, vainly offered his opposition; while Daniel Webster argued strenuously against him, as he had argued so ably against Robert Young Hayne two years before. This was in February, 1833.

Resolu-
tion
of the
States.

The National government was supported zealously by most of the States in this momentous crisis, either by the proceedings of their Legislatures or by the action of their citizens. The principle of State sovereignty seemed to be abandoned, though it might have found support had it not been for the extremity to which it was pushed. South Carolina seemed to be deserted by all her sister States on this issue in this crisis—even by her neighbors who generally had been disposed to take sides with her. Only Virginia came forward as a sort of mediator by appealing both to the National government and to South Carolina to put an end to all strife. As if to show her sympathy for the cause of South Carolina, Virginia appointed a commissioner to convey her sentiments to the people of South Carolina. This was the only exception to the course of the several States of the Union, all the other States ranging themselves distinctly on the side of the National government.

Tariff
Compro-
mise.

On one point, however, there was a decided reservation on the part of a number of the States. North Carolina, Alabama and Georgia openly condemned the tariff, Georgia even proposing a Southern convention to adopt measures to resist the continuance of so unconstitutional a system. The matter was taken up in the United States Senate by Henry Clay, who had been regarded as the author of the Missouri Compromise. In consultation with others, that great statesman then introduced a Tariff Compromise, proposing that all duties on imports

exceeding twenty per cent. should be reduced to that rate by successive diminutions through the next ten years, until June 30, 1842. Unlike the Missouri question, the tariff question was settled without prolonged struggles. The champions of protection opposed the new compromise on financial grounds, but especially for political reasons. Webster regarded it as "yielding great principles to faction," and others agreed with him that this was no time to waive the National supremacy when a State was in open rebellion against the Nation. Nevertheless, the Tariff Compromise became a law, March 2, 1833. As one of Clay's correspondents wrote to him, "the lightning was drawn out from the clouds lowering over the country," and South Carolina quietly subsided. But as that State was full of insubordination, the clouds still lowered.

President Jackson ever afterward regretted that he did not then carry out his threat to arrest Calhoun for high treason. Many others united with the President in this regret, feeling convinced that the time had arrived to test the strength of the National government, and that the trial of its next to the highest official, on the charge of conspiring against it, would have afforded the best opportunity of settling forever the relations between the Nation and the States than could be found in enforcing acts or compromises.

Escaping trial, Calhoun went home to tell his fellow-citizens of South Carolina that the South could not be united against the North on the tariff question, saying: "The basis of Southern union must be shifted to the slave question." This question had entered upon its latest phase by this time. Two periods have been noticeable in the anti-slavery movement in the United States; the first being from the founding of the National government to the year 1831, during which period anti-slavery signified opposition to an evil which affected all parts of the Union, and to the relief of which all parts of the country must contribute, slavery to be abolished by degrees, with compensation to the slaveholders, societies having been formed for this purpose.

The character of the anti-slavery movement changed during its second period, beginning in 1831. Thenceforth slavery was considered the sin for which only those who tolerated it must pay the penalty, the institution to be abolished at once, without compensating the owners of slaves; and, as emancipation of the slaves could be accomplished only at great risks and in defiance of powerful traditions, the work of manumission must be done by individuals engaged in individual action, though combined in associations. As a natural consequence of this contrast, the South, which had coöperated in the anti-slavery movement before 1831, opposed it resolutely thenceforth. In 1826 there were one hundred and forty-four anti-slavery societies, of

President
Jackson's
Regret.

Calhoun
and
Slavery.

First
Period
of Anti-
Slavery.

Second
Period.

which one hundred and six were in the South. Ten years later there were no such associations in the South.

Southampton Massacre.

The sectional opposition of the South to the anti-slavery movement dated from the "Southampton Massacre," which occurred in Southampton county, Virginia, in August, 1831. The leader of this massacre was a slave of fanatical character, named Turner; and its first victims were sixty whites, the last being one hundred negroes who were slain by the Virginia militia and the United States troops sent against them.

Emancipation under Consideration in Virginia.

In December of the same year, 1831, the Virginia Legislature, while discussing the Southampton Massacre, considered its cause and the possibility of abolishing slavery within that State. Various plans of emancipation were proposed, and the general tone of the discussion was anti-slavery, though no methods of emancipation were adopted, and though all such plans were opposed by the Legislators from the eastern counties of the State. Said Thomas Jefferson Randolph, a grandson of the author of the Declaration of Independence and Third President of the United States: "The hour of eradication of the evil is advancing; it must come." This was the last time that any Southern State Legislature or any Southern assembly of any kind discussed even the possibility of emancipation.

Benjamin Lundy.

The altered character of the anti-slavery movement was apparent already. Benjamin Lundy, a mechanic of Quaker parentage, commenced his anti-slavery periodical entitled *Genius of Universal Emancipation* in 1821, and in 1824 he removed its office from the Free State of Ohio to the Slave State of Maryland. In Baltimore he continued to urge the abolition of slavery, and he traveled in the North and in the South, actively agitating the abolition cause among his fellow-laborers.

William Lloyd Garrison.

In Boston, Lundy found a young printer named William Lloyd Garrison, who was a co-laborer in the same cause in which he had embarked, and who was willing to go with him to Baltimore. Soon after Garrison's arrival in Baltimore he was arrested and fined for an article which he had written; and, as he was unable to pay the fine, he was imprisoned until released through the efforts of a friend at a distance. He returned to Boston; and in 1831 he began the publication of a journal called *The Liberator*, which was the most outspoken and openly-hostile publication that had yet appeared against the institution of chattel slavery. This journal declared: "A greater revolution in public sentiment is to be effected in the Free States, particularly in New England, than at the South. * * * Let Southern oppressors tremble; let Northern apologists tremble. * * * On this subject I do not wish to speak or write with moderation."

American
Anti-
Slavery
Society.

The new school of abolitionists were few and uninfluential. A few local societies were formed, and their meetings and publications increased the volume of the anti-slavery movement more than they augmented its power. The abolition cause gained fresh strength in the United States in consequence of the abolition of slavery in the British colonies by act of the British Parliament in 1833, for which the immortal Wilberforce and Clarkson had labored for a generation. Early in the winter of 1833-'34 the leading American abolitionists met in Philadelphia and organized the American Anti-Slavery Society. The declaration of this assemblage, compared by its members to the Declaration of Independence adopted in the same city fifty-seven years before, was prepared by William Lloyd Garrison. This declaration recognized the right of the States to legislate exclusively on slavery within their own respective limits, but asserted the right of the National government to suppress the slave trade between the States and to abolish slavery in the District of Columbia and in the Territories of the United States. Among those at this Philadelphia abolitionist assemblage was Lucretia Mott, a Quaker and a native of Massachusetts, but then a teacher in Philadelphia.

Its
Declara-
tion.

This declaration of the American Anti-Slavery Society insisted upon the duty of the government and the people, particularly in the Free States, "to remove slavery by moral and political action, as prescribed in the Constitution of the United States." The declaration was imperative in every particular, and it was memorable in American history as inspiring as well as expressing the strongest anti-slavery sentiments of that period. Thirty years afterward the great Quaker and anti-slavery poet, John Greenleaf Whittier, said: "I set a higher value on my name as appended to the anti-slavery declaration of 1833 than on the title page of any book."

Popular
Reaction
against
Abolition.

The abolitionists were soon beset; and men pointed at them as if they were crazy or wicked, considering them as general disturbers of social order and of established institutions, even in the North. Mobs broke up their meetings and violently handled their leaders, who sometimes escaped with their lives only by being taken to prison. The Georgia Legislature offered five thousand dollars' reward for the arrest and conviction of the editor or publisher of *The Liberator*. Georgia, Alabama, the two Carolinas and Virginia asked the Free States to make anti-slavery publications penal offenses and to suppress anti-slavery societies. These Southern demands were supported in the North by both officeholders and private citizens.

Charles-
ton
Postoffice
Mobbed.

In 1835 the United States postoffice at Charleston, South Carolina, was mobbed and papers brought by mail from the North were seized and burned. Instead of defending his charge, the postmaster ordered

similar mail matter to be stopped thereafter; and the United States Postmaster-General refused to condemn the Charleston postmaster's action, though confessing that he had no authority to approve it.

**Govern-
ment
Conces-
sions to
Slavery.**

The National government followed the popular lead in the reaction in favor of slavery. President Jackson's message to Congress in December, 1835, suggested the passage of a law to prohibit the circulation of "incendiary publications" through the mails. In February, 1836, Calhoun, as Chairman of a Senate committee, reported a bill providing that when a State declared publications incendiary Congress must prohibit their circulation; but this proposed measure fell through, April, 1836. But its failure was more than counterbalanced by the action of the National House of Representatives in adopting a rule which was maintained for several years, that "all petitions relating in any way to slavery be laid on the table without being printed or referred," May 26, 1836. These first concessions to slavery were ominous, not only to slaves, but to freemen.

**President
Jackson
and the
Supreme
Court.**

In 1832 President Jackson came into collision with the Supreme Court of the United States respecting the removal of the Creek and Cherokee Indians from Georgia. The authorities of Georgia threatened to remove them by force; and, when the Supreme Court decided against the claims of that State, the President sided with the authorities of Georgia, and the Indians were removed beyond the Mississippi as speedily as possible.

**Black
Hawk
War.**

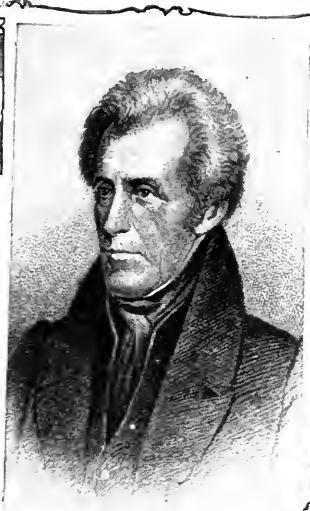
In the spring of 1832 the Sac, Fox and Winnebago Indians, in Wisconsin Territory, led by the famous chief, Black Hawk, commenced a destructive war on the frontier settlements of Northern Illinois. The Indians were subdued thoroughly in August of the same year, 1832, by United States troops under General Scott and Illinois militia under General Atkinson. Black Hawk was made prisoner and was taken to the principal Eastern cities in order that he might be impressed with the number and power of the white people. In the Black Hawk War both Abraham Lincoln and Jefferson Davis were captains of companies of militia.

**Re-elec-
tion of
Jackson.**

In the fall of 1832 Jackson was reelected President, with Martin Van Buren, of New York, as Vice President, they being the nominees of the Democratic party; while the candidates of the National Republican party were Henry Clay, of Kentucky, for President, and John Sergeant, of Pennsylvania, for Vice President. The Nullificationists nominated John Buchanan Floyd, of Virginia, who received the eleven Electoral votes of South Carolina for President. The Anti-Masonic candidates were William Wirt, of Virginia, for President, and Amos Ellmaker, of Pennsylvania, for Vice President; and they carried the State of Vermont.



JOHN QUINCY ADAMS



ANDREW JACKSON



MARTIN VAN BUREN



WILLIAM HENRY HARRISON



JOHN TYLER



JAMES KNOX POLK



ZACHARY TAYLOR



MILLARD FILLMORE



FRANKLIN PIERCE

PRESIDENTS OF THE UNITED STATES

The standing grievances of the United States against European nations for the payment of indemnities long due for spoliations of American commerce during the Napoleonic wars were settled during the period from 1830 to 1834; Denmark, Portugal, Spain and Naples paying the indemnities demanded; but with France there was some trouble before the claims were paid. The French government under King Louis Philippe fixed the amount at about five million dollars; but the Chamber of Deputies refused to vote the money, and the draft of the United States government for the first installment was protested, in 1834. Thereupon President Jackson proposed to Congress to authorize reprisals upon French property. The French Minister at Washington was then recalled, and the American Minister at Paris was offered his passports. After some diplomatic bickering, both nations accepted the proffered mediation of Great Britain; and in 1836 the French government paid the five millions demanded by the United States government as indemnity, and the difficulty ended, thus restoring peaceful relations between the two nations.

Besides the controversies over the State Rights and slavery questions there was another question which engaged the public attention during Jackson's administration—the financial question. This controversy was between the President, sustained by the Democratic party, on one side, and the United States Bank, upheld by the National Republican party, a few years later known as the Whig party, under the leadership of Henry Clay and Daniel Webster, on the other side. The protective tariff was favored by the Whigs and opposed by the Democrats.

In his first annual message to Congress, in December, 1829, President Jackson expressed himself strongly against a renewal of the charter of the United States Bank, which would expire in 1836. In 1832 he vetoed a bill passed by Congress for the renewal of the bank's charter; and, although Congress refused to authorize the removal of the public funds from the United States Bank, in 1833 he took the responsibility of ordering the Secretary of the Treasury to remove them. As that official refused to do so, he was removed by the President; and his successor, Roger Brooke Taney, of Maryland, obeyed the President's behest. The result was great excitement and a terrible financial and business convulsion throughout the country.

The United States Senate accused the President of violating the National Constitution, and Daniel Webster called upon "all who mean to die as they live, citizens of a free country," to "stand together for the supremacy of the laws." The question was both financial and political and thus excited universal public interest. The public debt was all paid off in 1835.

Trouble
with
France
about
Spolia-
tion
Claims.

The
United
States
Bank
Question.

Over-
throw
of the
United
States
Bank and
Removal
of Public
Funds.

The
Senate
and
Webster.

**Seminole
War in
Florida.**

When, in December, 1835, the United States government attempted to remove the Seminole Indians from Florida to the Territories west of the Mississippi, in accordance with a treaty which had been concluded with a few chiefs, that fierce tribe began a war against the United States. On the 28th of December, 1835, a band of Seminoles, with their famous chief, Osceola, at their head, killed General Thompson and five of his friends near Fort King. On the same day another party of Seminoles attacked one hundred men under Major Dade and killed all but four of them. On the 30th of December, 1835, General Clinch defeated the Seminoles on the banks of the Withlacoochee; and on the 29th of February, 1836, General Gaines defeated them near the same place.

**Specie
Circular**

On the 11th of July, 1836, a circular was issued from the Treasury Department requiring collectors of the public revenue to receive only gold and silver in payment. This circular, known as the *Specie Circular*, created much bitter feeling against President Jackson.

**Election
of Van
Buren.**

In the Presidential election in the autumn of 1836 Martin Van Buren, of New York, the Democratic candidate for the office of President of the United States, was elected. As the people had failed to elect a Vice President, Richard Mentor Johnson, of Kentucky, was chosen as such by the United States Senate. The Whig candidate for President was General William Henry Harrison, of Ohio, with Francis Granger, of New York, for Vice President. Daniel Webster, of Massachusetts, a Whig, received the fourteen Electoral votes of his own State. Hugh Lawson White, of Tennessee, a Democrat, received the twenty-six Electoral votes of Georgia and Tennessee. Willie Person Mangum, of North Carolina, a Democrat, received the eleven Electoral votes of South Carolina.

**Arkansas
and
Michigan.**

Two new States were admitted into the Union during the administration of General Jackson—Arkansas, in June, 1836, and Michigan, in January, 1837. A strip of land in the south-eastern part of Michigan Territory—the “Toledo district”—long had been a bone of contention between Ohio and Michigan Territory; and finally it was annexed to Ohio in 1836.

**Indian,
Missouri,
Wis-
consin
and Iowa
Terri-
tories.**

All that part of Arkansas Territory west of the present limits of the State of Arkansas was annexed to the Indian Territory, which had been formed in 1830 as a permanent home for the Indian tribes removed thither from the eastern parts of the United States, and which from 1836 to 1854 embraced the region westward from Missouri and Arkansas to the Rocky Mountains, and northward from Texas to the Nebraska river, north of which was Missouri Territory. In 1836 Wisconsin Territory was organized, embracing the present State of that name and the north-eastern part of Minnesota. In 1838 Iowa Territory was organized, comprising the present State of the same

name and all of the present Minnesota west of the Mississippi river and all of the present two Dakotas east of the Missouri and White Earth rivers.

Mr. Van Buren was inaugurated on the 4th of March, 1837, at a time when the country was on the brink of a terrible financial and business convulsion. During March and April of that year (1837) there were mercantile failures in the city of New York to the amount of over one hundred millions of dollars. The effects of these failures were felt throughout the whole country, and credit and confidence were destroyed. The banks suspended specie payments. The National government could not call in its deposits or collect its duties in specie, and the National treasury was empty. The twenty-eight million dollars of surplus revenue were distributed among the States, in accordance with President Jackson's order removing the public funds from the United States Bank in 1833 and the expiration of the Bank in 1836.

The gigantic business failures throughout the country, following in the course of trade, the speculations and disorders among business men, etc., brought on the commercial crisis from which almost everybody suffered—capitalists failing, laborers losing employment and families being reduced to want. The New York banks first suspended specie payments, and the banks of other cities followed.

A deputation waited upon President Van Buren and asked for the suspension of specie payment into the United States treasury and the summoning of an extra session of Congress. The extra session was held in September, 1837, but the President's proposal of a system by which the public funds should be deposited in public offices was not adopted immediately. The people were obliged to rely upon their own resources to restore their broken fortunes.

One great obstacle in the way of a restoration of general public confidence was the financial insolvency of the States. For two years before the panic State debts had been contracted amounting to almost one hundred million dollars. It soon became difficult to pay the interest on these obligations. Indiana, Illinois and Arkansas suspended the payment of interest. Maryland and Pennsylvania paid only a part of the interest, and this only by certificates. Michigan and Louisiana ceased even acknowledging their debts, besides ceasing to pay. Mississippi repudiated five million dollars at once, on the ground that the bank in whose favor her bonds had been issued had sold them on terms contrary to its charter. The Territory of Florida also repudiated its debts. Thus eight States and a Territory became worse than bankrupt in the course of a year and a half, 1841-'42.

The Seminole War in Florida still continued. In March, 1837, some of the Seminole chiefs made a treaty of peace with General Jessup;

President
Van
Buren,
A. D.
1837-
1841.

Panic of
1837.

General
Distress.

Proposed
Relief
Measures.

State
Insolv-
ency.

End
of the
Seminole
War.

but it was soon broken by the treacherous Osceola, who, in consequence, was seized by stratagem, in October, 1837, and imprisoned in Fort Moultrie, where he died. On Christmas day, 1837, Colonel Zachary Taylor defeated the Seminoles near Lake Okechobee. This destructive war ended in 1842, after a continuance of seven years.

**Murder
of Rev.
Elijah
Parish
Lovejoy.**

The anti-slavery agitation still went on, and in the first year of Van Buren's administration it produced a martyr. Among the few who stood firm in the cause of anti-slavery was a young New England clergyman named Elijah Parish Lovejoy, who had become editor of *The Observer*, at St. Louis. He was a man of broader nature and better culture than any who yet had become prominent in the anti-slavery cause. He did not claim to be an abolitionist or to engage exclusively in a crusade against slavery, but he sympathized with the anti-slavery cause and always boldly avowed his sentiments. He was especially a champion of the right of free speech, which had been imperilled since the National government and the people had united against it. Said he: "So long as I am an American citizen, so long as American blood runs in these veins, I shall hold myself at liberty to speak, to write and to publish whatever I please on any subject, being amenable to the laws of my country for the same." He removed his paper from St. Louis to Alton, Illinois, so that he might be in a Free State; but the State was not free to such courageous men as he. He was mobbed repeatedly, his house was stoned and his printing presses were destroyed; and, finally, while defending a new press by force of arms with a few friends, he was shot at midnight, November 7, 1837. Such was the popular feeling at the time that a meeting to express horror at this murder was held with difficulty, even in that "Cradle of Liberty," Faneuil Hall, Boston; and even at this meeting the Massachusetts Attorney-General spoke unqualifiedly in defense of the murderers.

**Rebellion
in
Canada.**

The peaceful relations between the governments of the United States and Great Britain were disturbed in 1837 by a rebellion in Canada, which had for its object the establishment of the independence of that country. The leaders of the revolt were Louis Joseph Papineau, in Canada East (now the province of Quebec), and William Lyon Mackenzie, in Canada West (now the province of Ontario). Great Britain was offended because hundreds of citizens of the United States crossed the borders of New York into Canada to aid the rebellious Canadians. The danger of war was averted by the prompt action of the President of the United States and of the Governor of New York, who issued proclamations declaring that all who crossed the border to aid the insurgents would forfeit all claims to the protection of the government of the United States.

Two incidents of this trouble over the Canadian insurrection of 1837 were the cases of the steamer *Caroline* and Alexander McLeod. Some New York citizens who had crossed into Canada to aid the insurgents encamped on Navy Island, a British possession in the Niagara river, to which they transported arms and stores in the *Caroline*. This steamer was destroyed by a British detachment while anchored on the American side of the Niagara river. This British detachment was accompanied by Alexander McLeod, Sheriff of Niagara county, Canada; and an American citizen lost his life in the fray.

In 1841 Sheriff McLeod, while in New York, was arrested by the State authorities on a murder charge. The British government demanded his release, and this demand was sustained by the United States government on the ground that McLeod had acted as an official of Great Britain. But the New York State authorities refused to release him and tried him for murder, but he was acquitted for lack of evidence. Had he been harmed or convicted and imprisoned Great Britain was ready to declare war against the United States. Congress afterward passed an act requiring that similar cases should be tried only in the United States Courts. McLeod's release settled his case; but the case of the burning of the *Caroline* on the American shore of the Niagara remained to be settled later, as there were other questions in dispute between the United States and Great Britain awaiting settlement, as noted in the next two paragraphs.

The peace between the United States and Great Britain was also threatened by a dispute about the boundary between the State of Maine and the British province of New Brunswick. The inhabitants of Maine and New Brunswick were prevented from settling the dispute by an appeal to arms only by the conciliatory course of General Scott, who had been sent to the border by the United States government to preserve peace, in 1839.

Besides the disputes growing out of the Canadian insurrection and the unsettled Maine boundary there was another controversy with Great Britain—that resulting from the boarding of American vessels on the African coast by British cruisers engaged in the suppression of the slave trade. This right, which was denied by the United States, was asserted in a quintuple treaty concluded by the Five Great Powers of Europe—Great Britain, France, Austria, Prussia and Russia.

The financial convulsions of Jackson's and Van Buren's administrations produced such a change in the minds of the people of the United States that the Whig candidate for the Presidency of the Republic, in 1840, General William Henry Harrison, of Ohio, was elected by an overwhelming majority, with John Tyler, of Virginia, as Vice President; thus defeating President Van Buren in his second candidacy,

The
Caroline
and
Sheriff
McLeod.

McLeod's
Arrest
and
Trial.

Maine
Boundary
Dispute.

Dispute
about
the Slave
Trade.

Election
of
General
William
Henry
Harrison

along with Vice President Richard Mentor Johnson, who was also a candidate for reëlection, in one of the most memorable Presidential campaigns in American political history, the log cabin and hard cider figuring prominently at Whig mass meetings. The candidates of the Liberty party, composed of abolitionists and other anti-slavery men, were James Gillespie Birney, of New York, for President, and Littleton Waller Tazewell, of Virginia, for Vice President.

**President
William
Henry
Harrison,
A. D.
1841.**

General Harrison took the oath of office on the 4th of March, 1841, as ninth President of the United States. On the 17th of the same month (March, 1841) the new President issued a proclamation calling an extra session of Congress, to begin on the 31st of May of that year. The hopes of the people of the United States that a new career of prosperity was about to dawn upon the Nation by a change of policy were soon dispelled by the death of President Harrison, which occurred on the 4th of April, 1841, just one month after his inauguration.

**President
Tyler,
A. D.
1841—
1845.**

In accordance with the requirements of the National Constitution, the Vice President, John Tyler, was immediately inaugurated President of the United States. The extra session of Congress called by Harrison commenced on the 31st of May and ended on the 13th of September, 1841. Two bills which had been passed for the re-charter of the United States Bank were vetoed by President Tyler. All the members of the Cabinet, with the exception of Daniel Webster, Secretary of State, dissatisfied with the action of the President in respect to the bank, charging him with violating the pledges which he had made to the party which had elected him to the Vice Presidency, immediately resigned their offices.

**His
Rupture
with His
Party.**

President Tyler claimed to be a descendant of the famous blacksmith, Wat Tyler, the leader of the great peasant rebellion in England against King Richard II. in 1381. It is said that President Tyler refused to appoint Reuben Hyde Walworth, then Chancellor of the State of New York, to the office of United States Judge, because he was told that Chancellor Walworth was a descendant of William Walworth, Lord Mayor of London, who, with the king's retinue, had killed Wat Tyler.

**Civil
War in
Rhode
Island.**

In 1842 there was a short civil war in Rhode Island as a result of the agitation for a State constitution in exchange for the old charter granted by King Charles II. in 1662, under which only freeholders and their eldest sons could vote, and under which representation had become very unequal because of changes in the populations of the towns. In 1841 two State constitutions were framed, each granting universal suffrage and equal popular representation; one by a "People's Convention," called by a Suffrage Association; and the other by a "Land-

holder's Convention," called by the State Legislature under the forms of law. Both constitutions were submitted to a general popular vote, and the "People's Constitution" was approved by a popular majority in December, 1841, while the "Landholders' Constitution" was rejected by the people in March, 1842. As the "People's Constitution" had not been adopted according to the forms of law, the State authorities refused to accept it. The Suffrage party chose Thomas Wilson Dorr for Governor, and the Law and Order party elected Samuel W. King to the same office, Dorr having his capital at Providence and King his capital at Newport. Dorr attacked the arsenal at Providence and afterwards threw up intrenchments at Chepachet, but fled when three thousand volunteers marched against him, thus ending the civil war, June, 1842. In 1843 a new State constitution went into operation granting all the reforms which Dorr and his party demanded.

In 1842 the dispute about the Maine and New Brunswick boundary line was settled by a treaty negotiated at Washington, by Daniel Webster on the part of the United States and Lord Ashburton on the part of Great Britain. As Secretary of State in President Tyler's Cabinet, Mr. Webster had proposed to the British Minister at Washington to take up the disputed boundary question. The British government appointed Lord Ashburton as a special envoy for the purpose. In the conferences between Mr. Webster and Lord Ashburton commissioners from Maine and Massachusetts were present in all questions relating to the disputed boundary. These negotiations ended in the *First Treaty of Washington*, which settled the disputed boundary and other questions in controversy between the two governments, April, 1842; and the treaty was duly ratified on August 20, 1842.

The other questions settled were those of the steamer *Caroline* and the searching of American vessels in African waters by British cruisers engaged in the suppression of the slave trade. The British envoy made an apology for the seizure of the *Caroline*. The claim to a right to board American vessels was put down in such a way as to lead to the denial of the claim of the Five Great Powers of Europe to such right. The treaty also provided for the mutual surrender of fugitives from justice under either British or American jurisdiction.

The old question about the impressment of seamen was put to rest by a letter from Secretary Webster to Lord Ashburton, repeating the rule at first laid down by President Jefferson "that the vessel being American shall be evidence that the seamen on board are such," and adding that thereafter "in every regularly-documented American merchant vessel the crew who navigate it will find protection in the flag which is over them." Thus all disputed questions were settled by the treaty or accompanying negotiations except the Oregon boundary.

Webster-
Ash-
burton
Treaty.

Other
Disputes
Settled
by the
Treaty.

The Old
Impress-
ment
Question.

controversy, which had not yet become serious. In 1846 Webster said in the United States Senate: "I am willing to appeal to the public men of the age whether in 1842 and in the city of Washington something was not done for the suppression of crime, for the true exposition of the principles of public law, for the freedom and security of commerce on the ocean and for the peace of the world."

Explorations of Captain Wilkes and Fremont.

The year 1842 was also notable for the return of the United States South Sea Exploring Expedition under Captain Charles Wilkes, which had gone on its voyage of exploration in the Southern Pacific in 1838, and which had discovered the great strip of uninhabited land along the Antarctic Circle known as the Antarctic Continent. In the years 1842 and 1843 John Charles Fremont was making the explorations in the Rocky Mountain region which won for him the name of "the Pathfinder."

Electro-magnetic Telegraph.

The electro-magnetic telegraph—the invention of Professor Samuel Finley Breese Morse—was finished in 1844; and the first message conveyed over the wires was sent on May 24th of that year in the words, "What hath God wrought," which were dictated by Anna G. Ellis, daughter of the Commissioner of Patents, who came early in the morning to inform the distinguished inventor of the appropriation of thirty thousand dollars by Congress for the construction of his first telegraph line between Baltimore and Washington. Soon afterward the proceedings of the Democratic National Convention at Baltimore, which nominated James Knox Polk as a candidate for the Presidency, were sent by this wire from Baltimore to Washington; being the first news ever sent by telegraph.

Extreme Attitude of Abolitionists.

The anti-slavery agitation, weak as it had become, went on; and the persecution and oppression of the abolitionists had caused them to assume a new and extreme attitude in 1842, when Garrison and his collaborators demanded the repeal of the Union as "the grand rallying point." They also proposed other repeals, such as that of the pulpit, which had not denounced slavery as it should have done, and that of the churches, which had not compelled their pulpits to denounce it. Instead of promoting abolitionism, these passionate appeals retarded its progress. Men who were willing to fight slavery were not willing to oppose their country or their church and became anti-abolitionists instead of becoming abolitionists. Another party was required to lead the fight against slavery, and this required time for its formation. In the meantime a new political party took the field in the anti-slavery cause under the name of the Liberty party.

The Liberty Party.

For over twenty years colored sailors arriving in ports of South Carolina, Georgia, Alabama and Louisiana had been liable to imprisonment during the stay of the ship in which they had come. In

1824 William Wirt, of Virginia, then Attorney-General of the United States, delivered an opinion that the act of South Carolina, where this practice had its origin, was unconstitutional and incompatible with the rights of other nations. South Carolina yielded so far as British seamen were concerned, but she refused to yield with regard to Americans. In 1842 Congress practically sustained South Carolina and her sister Slave States in their course in this matter, by refusing, by a large majority, to interfere. In 1844 the Massachusetts Legislature authorized the Governor of that State to appoint agents to inquire into the imprisonment of Massachusetts seamen in Charleston and New Orleans, the two great Southern ports. The Governor appointed Samuel Hoar to go to Charleston and Henry Hubbard to go to New Orleans, but both were driven off when they reached those cities.

Massachusetts Missions.

South Carolina asserted her right to exclude "seditious persons or others whose presence may be dangerous," and this was the reason for the expulsion of the Massachusetts agent. That State previously had been content to exclude colored citizens, but now it excluded white citizens also. The expelled agent asked in his report to the State of Massachusetts: "Has the Constitution of the United States the least practical validity or binding force in South Carolina, except where she thinks its operation favorable to her?"

Assertion of South Carolina.

It was later when the Church had become divided on the slavery question; two of the leading denominations of the United States, the Presbyterians and the Methodists, becoming divided into the Presbyterian Church North and the Presbyterian Church South and into the Methodist Church North and the Methodist Church South. But while many clergymen in the North took a stand against slavery on moral grounds, other preachers in the North as well as in the South became apologists and defenders of that peculiar institution of the Southern States, going so far as to call slavery "a Biblical institution," "a divine institution," etc., and denouncing the abolitionists as "disturbers of the divinely-established social order," as "inciters to disturbance of the public peace," as "incendiaries," as "anarchists," etc.; thus giving justification to the abolitionists for their denunciation of the Church as "an upholder and defender of slavery." In those days the majority of the clergy of the United States maintained that the slave was the private property of the man who had the money to purchase his body from the man who had the "right" to sell. It sounds strange at the present time to read the utterances of the clergy of those times on this subject.

Church Divisions on Slavery.

Attitude of the Clergy on Slavery.

In the latter part of the eighteenth century the Methodist Church of the United States had excluded slaveholders from its membership and had expressed "the deepest abhorrence of the practice of slavery"

Attitude of the Methodist Church.

and resolved never to "cease to seek its destruction by all wise and prudent means," thus acting in accordance with the sentiment of the Rev. John Wesley himself, who had characterized slavery as "the sum of all villainies." But from this high moral position the Methodist Church of the United States receded during the first half of the nineteenth century, thus imitating the example of the other American denominations by accepting the doctrine of the right of private property in men and women. In 1836 the General Conference of the Methodist Church of the United States, in session at Cincinnati, by a vote of one hundred and twenty to fourteen, passed resolutions severely denouncing the "modern abolition movement" and wholly disclaiming "any right, wish or intention to interfere in the civil and political relations between master and slaves as it exists in the slaveholding States in this Union." In the report of the Methodist General Conference at Baltimore in 1840, the Rev. Dr. Capers, after quoting from the reports of the General Conferences in 1780, 1784 and 1785, condemning the institution of chattel slavery in the strongest language, pointed out that the members of those Conferences were poor men and had little connection with slavery, that they had adopted the language which was precisely consistent with the circumstances and just such language as he would adopt under similar circumstances. In later years, when the Church had extended farther and "become more entangled with slavery, there was a corresponding faltering in the language of the Church against it." Thus we find the Methodist General Conference endorsing slavery, declaring that it is no sin, condemning any effort to overthrow it as "treasonable and wicked," denouncing the abolitionists and severely censuring two members of the Conference for attending an abolitionist meeting.

**Clergy
for
Slavery.**

The following quotations from the declarations of Church assemblies and from the sayings of preachers in both the North and the South before 1850 show the attitude of a large part of the Churches and the clergy on the question of slavery.

**Slaves
or Wage
Laborers.**

In 1835 the Charlestown Baptist Association summed up the slavery question, which then was agitating the minds of great men in both the North and the South, in the following words: "It amounts, in effect, to this, whether the operatives of a country should be bought and sold and themselves become property, as in this State, or whether they shall be hirelings and their labor only become property, as in some other States. In other words, whether an employer may buy the whole time of laborers at once, of those who have a right to dispose of it, with a permanent relation of care and protection over them, or whether he shall be restricted to buy it in certain portions only, subject to their control, and with no such permanent relations of care and protection."

**Death to
Abolition-
ists.**

The following was a Church resolution adopted at Clinton, Mississippi, in 1835: "Resolved, That it is our decided opinion that any individual who dares to circulate, with a view to effectuate the designs of the abolitionists and of the incendiary tracts of newspapers now in course of transmission to this country, is justly worthy, in the sight of man and God, of immediate death; and we doubt not that such would be the punishment of any such offender in any part of the State of Mississippi where he may be found."

The Rev. Dr. Spring, of the American Colonization Society, said: "The best way to meet the abolitionists is with cold steel and Dupont's best." [By "Dupont's best" he meant *powder*.]

**Cold
Steel.**

The Rev. Dr. William L. Plummer, of the Presbyterian General Assembly, in 1840, said: "Abolitionists are like infidels, wholly unaddicted to martyrdom for opinion's sake. Let them understand that they will be caught [lynched] if they come among us, and they will take good heed to keep out of our way."

**Abolition-
ists like
Infidels.**

Dr. Plummer also said: "I have carefully watched the matter from its earliest existence, and everything I have seen or heard of its character, and both from its patrons and enemies, has confirmed me beyond repentance in the belief that, let the character of the abolitionists be what it may, in the sight of the Judge of all the earth, that it is the most meddlesome, reckless, fierce and wicked excitement I ever saw."

**Abolition-
ism as
Wicked.**

The Rev. Robert M. Anderson, at the sessions of the Presbyterian Congregation within the bounds of the West Hanover Presbytery, said: "At the appointed stated meetings of our Presbytery I design to offer a preamble and resolution on the subject of treasonable and abominably-wicked influence of the Northern and Eastern fanatics with our political and civil rights, our property and domestic concerns. You are aware that our clergy, with or without reason, is more suspected by the public than the clergy of any other denomination. Now, dear Christian brethren, I humbly express it, as my humble wish, that you acquit yourselves like men. If there by any stray goat of a minister among you tainted with the bloodhound principles of abolitionism, let him be ferreted out, silenced, excommunicated and left to the public to dispose of him in other respects."

**Abolition-
ist
Preachers
Not
Tolerated.**

Chancellor Harper, a prominent divine of South Carolina, said: "It is the order of nature and of God that the being of superior faculties and knowledge, and therefore of superior power, should control and possess those who are inferior. It is as much in the order of nature that men should enslave each other as that other animals should prey upon each other."

**Slavery
as Divine.**

Bishop Mead, of the Protestant Episcopal Church, in 1843, said: "Almighty God has been pleased to make you slaves here, and to give

**Slavery
as God's
Will.**

you nothing but labor and poverty in this world, which you are obliged to submit to, as it is His will that it be so."

**Bishop
Mead's
Advice to
Slaves.**

Bishop Mead's advice to the slaves was as follows: "For this you have a general rule that you ought to always carry in your minds, and that is, to do all service for them [the masters] as if you did it for God Himself. * * * Do what your masters under God provide for you to do. And how shall they be able to do this—to feed and cloth you—unless you take honest care of everything that belongs to them? Take care that you do not fret or murmur or grumble at your condition, for this will not only make your life miserable, but will greatly offend Almighty God. * * * It is the will of God, Who has, by His providence, made you servants, because, no doubt, He knew that condition would be best for you in this world, and help you the better toward heaven, if you would but do your duty in it. So that any discontent in your not being rich or free or great, as you see some others, is quarreling with your heavenly Master and finding fault with God Himself. Now, when correction is given you, you either deserve it or you do not deserve it. But, whether you deserve it or not, it is your duty, and Almighty God requires that you bear it patiently."

**Abolition-
ism as
Anarchy.**

The Rev. J. H. Thornwell, in a public meeting in South Carolina, said: "That slavery as it exists in the South is no evil and is consistent with the principles of revealed religion, and that all opposition to it arises from a misguided fanaticism which we are bound to resist at the very threshold. That all interference with this subject by fanatics is a violation of our civil and social rights; is un-Christian and inhuman, leading, necessarily, to anarchy and bloodshed, and the instigators are murderers and assassins."

**Abolition-
ism as
Ungodly.**

The Rev. Mr. Lord, the President of Dartmouth College, at Hanover, New Hampshire, said: "Abolitionism is at fault. It is false and wrong. It destroys the ancient landmarks. It obliterates the old paths. It puts its heels on constitutional realism. It sunders what God has intended, and unites what God has sundered."

**Great
Temper-
ance
Revival.**

In the early forties a great temperance revival spread over the United States, and hundreds and thousands signed the pledge of total abstinence from all intoxicating drinks. Reformed drunkards suddenly became great temperance orators and lecturers, and were instrumental in leading multitudes of their unfortunate fellow-men who had been slaves to the cursed bowl to throw off the shackles of the demon strong drink and thenceforth to lead lives of sobriety and total abstinence.

**Gough,
Hawkins
and
Father
Matthew.**

The most famous and eloquent of these temperance orators was a young New England hatter, John Bartholomew Gough, a native of England, who, after his liberation from the slavery of the cup, spent years in lecturing on temperance through the United States and leading thou-

sands from lives of drunkenness to sober and temperate habits. Another celebrated temperance orator and lecturer was John Henry Willis Hawkins, of Baltimore, who, after his deliverance from the tyranny of "King Alcohol," also took the lecture platform in the cause of temperance, and, like Gough, led thousands of poor drunkards to lives of usefulness and sobriety. Hawkins founded a famous and widespread national temperance organization called the *Washingtonians*. In the late forties a famous temperance apostle from Ireland—Father Matthew, a Roman Catholic priest who had caused thousands of drunkards in his native country to sign the pledge—made a temperance-lecturing tour of the United States and induced thousands of Irish Americans to place their signatures to pledges of total abstinence.

SECTION V.—ANNEXATION OF TEXAS AND OREGON CONTROVERSY (A. D. 1845–1846).

WE have deferred the question of the annexation of Texas and the election of James Knox Polk to the Presidency on that issue. We will now proceed to an account of this interesting and important subject. It was not certain whether Texas formed a part of the Spanish dependency of Mexico, or New Spain, or whether it was a part of the vast domain of Louisiana, which France had sold to the United States in 1803, when, in 1813, American adventurers set foot on Texas soil to join the Mexicans in their struggle for independence of Spanish rule; but the boundary line between the Spanish Mexican province of Texas and the United States was definitely fixed in the treaty by which Spain ceded Florida to the United States in 1819. Thus Texas was distinctly conceded to Spain as a part of her province of Mexico by the United States; and when Mexico herself won her independence of Spain in 1821 Texas, as a part of Mexico, was lost to the Spanish dominion in America.

Texas
under
Spain
and
Mexico.

As soon as Mexico had achieved her independence she invited and encouraged emigration from the United States into Texas; and a number of American emigrants under Stephen F. Austin, of Missouri, settled in the as-yet-unoccupied territory in the same year—1821. This American colony on Texas soil prospered in spite of the difficulties of the enterprise and the continual domestic revolutions in Mexico, and by 1833 there were ten thousand Americans in this outlying Mexican province.

In the last-named year—1833—these American Texans formed a constitution and sent Austin to Mexico to ask for the admission of Texas as a State of the Mexican Republic. This request was denied,

American
Emigra-
tion to
Texas.

Texan
War of
Independ-
ence.

and Austin was thrown into prison. In 1835 the Texans rose in rebellion against the oppressive Mexican military rule. President Santa Anna proceeded to reduce these American Texans to complete submission and sent a military force to arrest the Texan officers under the State constitution and to disarm the Texan people. The Texans were victorious at Gonzales, October 2, 1835, and captured the strong fortresses of Goliad and the Alamo.

**Fall
of the
Alamo.**

On March 6, 1836, four thousand Mexicans under Santa Anna retook the Alamo after a siege of two weeks, but only after a desperate assault in which the garrison of one hundred and fifty Texans all perished, David Crockett, the famous hunter among them. A few days before—

**Texan
Declara-
tion of
Independ-
ence.**

March 2, 1836—a Texan convention of delegates at Washington, on the Colorado, declared Texas an independent republic. On April 21, 1836, sixteen hundred Mexicans under Santa Anna were utterly defeated and routed by less than half as many Texans under General Sam

**Battle
of San
Jacinto.**

Houston in the decisive battle of San Jacinto, Santa Anna himself being taken prisoner the next day. In order to obtain his release, Santa Anna ordered the Mexican army to retire beyond the Rio Grande and acknowledged the independence of Texas; but after his return to Mexico, Santa Anna disavowed this treaty, made while he was a prisoner, and the Mexican Congress refused to confirm it. Although

**Independ-
ence of
Texas.**

Mexico refused to acknowledge the independence of Texas, she did not make another effort to reconquer her lost province. In October, 1836, General Houston was elected President of Texas, which remained an independent republic nine years, recognized as such by the United States, Great Britain and France.

**President
Jackson's
Course.**

One of President Jackson's later messages to Congress was on the subject of Texan independence. He very decidedly counseled caution, for reasons which were now apparent. But as Congress recognized the new republic as one of the family of nations, President Jackson gave his assent thereto in the last hours of his administration, which, as we have seen, ended March 4, 1837.

**Reasons
for
Annexa-
tion.**

In his inaugural address President Sam Houston expressed the desire of the Texan people to unite their destinies with those of the people of the United States—a very natural desire, as they were almost universally emigrants from the country to which they wished to be reunited. It was just as natural that the American people should wish them again under the folds of the Stars and Stripes, partly because of old associations and partly because of new ones connected with the late Texan Revolution. Besides these there were other motives to incline Americans, those of the Southern States, in favor of the addition of the "Lone Star State" to the galaxy of the great constellation of the American Union.

Slavery
in Texas.

Many Americans had opposed the relinquishment of the Louisiana claims to Texas in the treaty with Spain for the cession of Florida to the United States in 1819, and these Americans were therefore very earnestly in favor of recovering the territory thus surrendered. Twice did the United States endeavor to recover the relinquished territory from Mexico by purchase, in 1825 and 1835, but in vain. Many in the South desired to recover Texas because of its congenial climate and its resources, but more especially on account of the existence of slavery in Texas. But the last reason was a cause for opposition in the North to the annexation of Texas. The anti-slavery party in the United States would, therefore, have no desire to recover Texas, even after it had been surrendered, besides having little sympathy with the history or the character of the Texan people, whom they regarded as a wild and lawless set, unfit to share in the established institutions of the United States and therefore an element of danger to the American Union.

There was still another reason for opposition to the annexation of Texas to the United States—an objection entertained very generally on account of Mexico's claim to the Texan territory. President Jackson dwelt upon this feature of the case in his message to Congress in 1836, already alluded to. In that message he stated very plainly that the recognition of Texan independence was the recognition of the Texan title to the territory, as conflicting with the Mexican assertion of sovereignty.

The foregoing question was especially delicate because of already-existing differences between the governments of the United States and Mexico. Mexico complained of repeated American invasions of her territory, in violation of all amity and neutrality. The United States demanded redress for Mexican spoliations of American property and Mexican injuries to American citizens from the time that Mexico became independent of Spain. In spite of these various complications, the United States recognized the independence of Texas, waiving the question of annexation for the time being.

Early in 1837, the beginning of Van Buren's administration, Texas applied for annexation to the United States; but her request was refused and was then withdrawn. In 1838 William Campbell Preston, of South Carolina, introduced resolutions in the United States Senate in favor of the proposed annexation; but these resolutions were rejected.

The project of annexation was revived frequently, and Texas remained the object of desire and of debate. Van Buren's administration continued negotiations, first with Mexico, deprecating the continuance of hostilities, and then with Texas, proposing new reasons for alliance and new means of annexation to the United States. President Tyler was strongly in favor of effecting the annexation during

Conflicting
Titles.

Mexican
Spolia-
tions.

Texas
Refused
Admis-
sion.

Revival
of Annex-
ation
Project.

his administration, and in this he was sustained by a gradually-increasing sentiment in the same direction on the part of the South, while the North was becoming continually more antagonistic to the scheme. New arguments in favor of annexation were added to the old ones. It was asserted by the annexationists that there was danger of Texas throwing herself into the arms of another nation—of Great Britain or France—to the detriment of the United States.

**Slavery
in Texas.**

But the overshadowing dispute respecting annexation arose from the existence of slavery in Texas. As the anti-slavery sentiment grew in the North nothing appeared more effectual to check the growth of this sentiment than the increase of slaveholding territory, which lay close at hand in Texas. If the United States did not annex Texas it might cease to be slaveholding, as Great Britain, the great abolitionist power, was believed to entertain the design to obtain possession of Texas for the purpose of abolishing slavery therein. In September, 1843, Abel Parker Upshur, Secretary of State, wrote: "Few calamities could befall this country more to be deplored than the abolition of domestic slavery in Texas." In 1844, Upshur's successor, John C. Calhoun, wrote: "To this continent the blow would be calamitous beyond description. * * * Annexation is forced on the government of the United States in self-defense." It was plain to both the pro-slavery and the anti-slavery people that the annexation of Texas was demanded in the interest of slavery and that such annexation would strengthen that institution in the United States, for which reason annexation was more and more favored in the South and more and more opposed in the North.

**The
South's
Desire for
Annexa-
tion
in the
Slavery
Interest.**

The South regarded the annexation of Texas as necessary to the interests of slavery both in Texas and in the United States. In case Texas ceased to be slaveholding a vast market for slaves would be closed and a large place of refuge would be opened for fugitive slaves. For these reasons President Tyler and his two successive Secretaries of State—all Southern men and all devotedly sustained by the South—were striving for increasing the territorial extent of slavery in the United States by the annexation of Texas. But the more these Southern statesmen strove for increase of slave territory, the more did the North oppose their scheme by antagonizing the annexation of Texas. It was a repetition of the Missouri struggle and more than that. The North argued that in the case of Missouri it fought against the admission of one of our own Territories as a Slave State, while in the case of Texas it fought against the admission of a foreign nation into our Union as a Slave State.

**Renewed
Slavery
Agitation.**

It thus became more and more the settled purpose of the South to force Texas into the Union in spite of Northern opposition, or, as

one of the South Carolina Congressional districts presented the alternative, "either to admit Texas into the Union or to proceed peaceably and calmly to arrange the terms of a dissolution of the Union." But the North argued, in opposition to this, that the character of the Union as a republic, founded for freedom and for free institutions, would be lost by the acquisition of territory expressly for slavery. A fresh struggle for and against slavery followed, in which the anti-slavery cause was gaining new recruits. What the abolitionists were unable to accomplish, the slaveholders and their supporters effected, by bringing to public view the momentous character of the crisis toward which the Nation was advancing. Tyler's administration endeavored to effect a compromise by preparing a treaty which admitted Texas as a State of the Union and which had been prepared by Calhoun as Secretary of State, but this treaty was rejected by the United States Senate in June, 1844.

The question of annexation then became an issue in the Presidential election of 1844, and annexation was sustained by the Democratic party and opposed by the Whig party. James Knox Polk, of Tennessee, the Democratic candidate for President, was elected by a large majority, with George Mifflin Dallas, of Pennsylvania, as Vice President, over the Whig candidate, Henry Clay, of Kentucky, for President, with Theodore Frelinghuysen, of New Jersey, as candidate for Vice President. The candidates of the Liberty, or anti-slavery party were James Gillespie Birney, of New York, for President, and Thomas Morris, of Ohio, for Vice President. The Whig defeat was owing largely to the vacillating conduct of their Presidential candidate. Clay had been nominated by the Whigs because he had opposed annexation, but when he wrote a letter in which he showed a wavering disposition his party became discouraged and lost the election. Thus Henry Clay, the founder, leader and great idol of the Whig party, was defeated for the Presidency the third time—twice by General Jackson and once by a comparatively-mediocre man like Polk, both from Tennessee.

Feeling their project of annexation endorsed by the American people, the Southern politicians sought to put it in execution; and upon the meeting of Congress in December, 1844, resolutions to annex Texas were proposed. Even Southern Whigs objected. Senator William Cabell Rives, of Virginia, called it "a dangerous precedent." Senator John McPherson Berrien, of Georgia, characterized it as being "at the sacrifice of the peace and harmony of the Union." Representative Kenneth Rayner, of North Carolina, said: "If we admit that the general government can interpose to extend slavery as a blessing, we must admit that it can interfere to arrest it as an evil."

Election
of Polk.

Clay's
Defeat.

Joint
Resolu-
tion of
Annexa-
tion.

**Annexation
Resolution
Adopted
by
Congress.**

The joint resolutions of the two Houses of Congress providing for the annexation of Texas were adopted March 1, 1845, and approved by President Tyler the next day. This joint resolution provided that when Texas had sufficient population it might be divided into five States, and that in all such States as might lie south of the line of the Missouri Compromise the people might decide whether or not they wanted slavery, while in all States that might be formed north of said line slavery should be prohibited. As Texas had no territory north of that line this prohibition was meaningless.

**Florida
and
Iowa.**

On March 3, 1845, the day before he retired from the Presidency, Mr. Tyler signed a bill for the admission of Florida and Iowa into the Union of States; Florida being admitted at once, and Iowa on December 28, 1846. All of Iowa Territory north of the present State of that name was annexed to Wisconsin Territory.

**President
Polk,
A. D.
1845-
1849.**

**Admission of
Texas.**

Mr. Polk was inaugurated President of the United States on the 4th of March, 1845; and exactly four months later—on the 4th of July, 1845, the sixty-ninth anniversary of American independence—the government of Texas formally approved the joint resolution of the Congress of the United States for annexation, and the “Lone Star,” which had been an independent republic for nine years, became one of the great American constellation, being numbered as the twenty-eighth State of our Union.

**Ominous
War
Clouds.**

Before Polk’s administration was a year old ominous war clouds were hovering over the United States, as the diplomatic relations of this country with both Great Britain and Mexico were of so menacing a character as to threaten an open rupture and an outbreak of hostilities on both the north-western and south-western frontiers of the United States, the dispute with Great Britain being about Oregon and the dispute with Mexico about Texas. Before proceeding with the rupture with Mexico we will consider the Oregon controversy with Great Britain.

**American
and
British
Claims to
Oregon.**

The controversy with Great Britain about the conflicting claims to the Oregon territory were of long standing and reached a crisis just at the time when hostilities with Mexico were breaking out on the Rio Grande frontier. The claims of the United States to Oregon were based: First, upon American voyages to the Pacific coast, especially the one made in 1792 by Captain Robert Gray in the *Columbia*, from which vessel the great river in that region received its name; secondly, upon the acquisition of Louisiana from France in 1803, with all the Spanish rights to the Pacific shores; thirdly, upon an exploring expedition under Captain Lewis and Lieutenant Clarke, of the United States army, by whom the Missouri river was traced to its source and the *Columbia* descended to the Pacific Ocean in the years 1804 to 1806;

fourthly, upon the settlement of Astoria, at the mouth of the Columbia river, by John Jacob Astor in 1811, in prosecuting the fur trade. The British claims to Oregon were based upon various pretensions of discovery and occupancy. In 1818, and again in 1827, did the two nations agree to a joint possession of the disputed territory. During Monroe's administration, and again during Tyler's, did the United States propose a division of Oregon between the two nations; but Great Britain objected, and the conflicting claims of the two nations to this outlying domain were fast approaching a crisis which threatened a rupture and an outbreak of hostilities.

The United States claimed the whole territory as far north as fifty-four degrees and forty minutes north latitude, embracing the region now comprised in the Canadian province of British Columbia, in addition to what is now embraced by the States of Oregon, Washington, Idaho and the north-western part of Montana; or, in other words, the whole region bounded by the Rocky Mountains on the east and the Pacific Ocean on the west, and by what then was the northern boundary of Mexico, the forty-second parallel of north latitude, on the south, and fifty-four degrees and forty minutes north latitude, on the north. The British claim also embraced the whole of this region. Great Britain's rejection of the American proposition to divide the territory raised a war cry by the Democratic party in the United States during the Presidential campaign of 1844 that Oregon must be held by the United States—the war cry of "Fifty-four forty or fight."

In 1845 President Polk renewed the offer to Great Britain for a division of Oregon between the two nations, but on less favorable terms to Great Britain; and the offer was again rejected by the British government. In 1846, in accordance with President Polk's recommendation, a year's notice was given by the United States government to Great Britain, preliminary to the termination of the existing arrangements concerning the joint occupation of Oregon. In the meantime American emigration to Oregon had been in progress on so large a scale that there were some thousands of American settlers in the disputed territory in 1846; and a serious crisis had now been reached in the controversy, threatening to involve the United States in a war with Great Britain just after she had become engaged in her war with Mexico.

But the prospect of war with Great Britain was terminated by the United States accepting Great Britain's proposal for a division of Oregon, giving to Great Britain all that portion of the disputed territory north of the forty-ninth parallel of north latitude and assigning to the United States all that part south of that parallel, thus ending the long controversy.

Extent
of the
Rival
Claims.

Crisis
in the
Dispute.

Settle-
ment
of the
Contro-
versy.

**Debates
in Con-
gress
and Par-
liament.**

The debates in Congress and in Parliament during the years 1842 to 1846, and articles in leading journals and reviews, after generously discounting their partisan overstatements, clearly portray the then-prevailing knowledge, or, rather, the prevailing ignorance, both in the United States and in Great Britain, as to the whole region west of the Mississippi.

**Benton's
View.**

In the National House of Representatives, in 1844, Robert Charles Winthrop, of Massachusetts, cited with approval the following words spoken by the distinguished Thomas Hart Benton, of Missouri, in the United States Senate in 1825:

"The ridge of the Rocky Mountains may be named without offense as presenting a convenient natural and everlasting boundary. Along the back of this ridge the western limits of the Republic should be drawn, and the statue of the fabled god Terminus should be raised upon its highest peak, never to be thrown down."

**Mc-
Duffie's
View.**

In the United States Senate on January 25, 1843, the great orator and statesman, George McDuffie, of South Carolina, in speaking of the country now embraced in the two Dakotas, Nebraska, Kansas, and thence westward to Oregon and Washington, said:

"What is the character of this country? Why, as I understand, that seven hundred miles this side of the Rocky Mountains is uninhabitable, where rain scarcely ever falls—a barren and sandy soil—mountains totally impassable, except in certain parts. Well, now, what are we going to do in such a case as that? How are you going to supply steam? Have you made anything like an estimate of the cost of a railroad running from here to the mouth of the Columbia? Why, the wealth of the Indies would be insufficient! You would have to tunnel through mountains five or six hundred miles in extent. Of what use will this be for agricultural purposes? I would not, for that purpose, give a pinch of snuff for the whole territory. I wish it was an impassable barrier to secure us against the intrusions of others. If there was an embankment of even five feet to be removed, I would not consent to expend five dollars to remove that embankment to enable our population to go there. I thank God for His mercy in placing the Rocky Mountains there."

**West-
minster
Review.**

A writer in the *Westminster Review*, in 1846, thus described the great plains of the region embraced in the present Nebraska, Kansas and Oklahoma:

"From the valley of the Mississippi to the Rocky Mountains the United States territory consists of an arid tract extending south nearly to Texas, which has been called the Great American Desert. The caravan of emigrants who undertake the passage take provisions for six months, and many of them die of starvation on the way."



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SCENES IN MEXICO

Upper: View of Monterey, Mexico

Lower: Chapultepec Castle, City of Mexico. Residence of President Diaz and former site of Montezuma's Palace



Indeed, the question much debated at the time was: Is Oregon worth saving? Those renowned Massachusetts orators and statesmen, Senator Daniel Webster and Representative Robert Charles Winthrop, were of the opinion that the government would be endangered by a further enlargement of territory. John McPherson Berrien, of Georgia, declared in the United States Senate that the region under discussion was a barren and savage one, as yet unoccupied, except for hunting, fishing, and trading with the natives; while William S. Archer, of Virginia, said in the United States Senate that the part near the coast alone contained land fit for agricultural purposes, and that there were no harbors which were or could be rendered tolerable. And yet, out of all this hot debate and war talk, there emerged in 1846 peace, Oregon and the forty-ninth parallel.

Three years later came the discovery of gold in California, one of the vast territories acquired by the United States by conquest and purchase from Mexico as a result of the war between the two nations. Then California—as Australia soon after and as South Africa and Klondike near the close of the nineteenth century—set men's imaginations on fire. Long caravans of ox teams in endless succession wended their slow way across the plains, the mountains and the deserts to the sunset land of gold. Government surveys for a railroad promptly followed, and crude and imperfect knowledge as to the region rapidly gave place to better, though still defective, knowledge of the *Great West*.

One of the original views entertained concerning the region east of the Rocky Mountains, which since has been believed to be wrong, now appears to have been somewhat correct. On the old maps of the United States about the middle of the nineteenth century was a large region called the "Great American Desert." This view was afterwards believed to have been incorrect, and the maps no longer had the "Great American Desert" upon them. But, in view of the recent failures of crops in that region through droughts, grasshopper plagues, etc., it seems that the earlier maps were not so far wrong, after all.

Views of
Webster,
Winthrop
and
Berrien.

Subse-
quent
Discov-
ery of
Gold in
Califor-
nia.

Sequel.

SECTION VI.—WAR WITH MEXICO (A. D. 1846–1848).

As had been predicted would be the case, the annexation of Texas led to war between the United States and Mexico. Mexico all along had declared that she would consider such annexation as a warlike act on the part of the United States. Accordingly, after the passage of the joint resolution of annexation by the two Houses of the United States Congress, General Almonte, the Mexican Minister at Wash-

Diplo-
matic
Rupture

ton, demanded his passports, March 6, 1845, and the Mexican government suspended diplomatic intercourse with the American Minister at the city of Mexico; so that there was a diplomatic rupture between the two nations a year before the outbreak of hostilities. The Mexicans said: "War is the only recourse of the Mexican government." The cause of Mexico's action was the American occupation of a State which Mexico still claimed as an integral part of her own territory, notwithstanding the fact that it had been an independent republic for nine years, and as such had been recognized by Great Britain and France, as well as by the United States.

**Disputed
Boundary
of Texas.**

Besides the annexation of Texas, the boundary between Texas and Mexico was in dispute. Texas itself and the United States regarded the Rio Grande as the boundary, while Mexico claimed that the Nueces river was the line of separation and that the region between that river and the Rio Grande was not a part of Texas. Therefore, even if Texas were no longer Mexican territory—which Mexico refused to acknowledge—the region between the Nueces and the Rio Grande was still a part of Mexico.

**Mexican
Outrages
on
Ameri-
cans.**

Along with the annexation of Texas and the disputed boundary between her and Mexico, there was a third cause of controversy between the United States and Mexico, though this alone would not have brought on the war. This was the system of outrage and spoliation suffered by American citizens in Mexico ever since that country achieved its independence of Spain, American merchants losing their property and American sailors their rights by seizures on Mexican waters and in Mexican ports.

**Failure
to Obtain
Redress
from
Mexico.**

Notwithstanding a treaty between the two nations in 1831, these wrongs complained of had continued, until President Jackson, in the last month of his administration, February, 1837, considered it best to recommend demands for justice "from on board one of our vessels of war on the coast of Mexico." Finally, in 1839, the Mexican government entered into a treaty with the United States government by which a commission was appointed in 1840 to examine the American claims. The term of this commission expired in 1842, before more than a third of the claims had been examined; and the United States government urged the appointment of a new commission, but all to no purpose. In 1843 the United States government itself paid some claims acknowledged by the Mexican government to be due American citizens, their payment by the Mexican government being delayed. All this, however, was a secondary cause of war, which never would have occurred without a more exciting cause.

**American
Envoy to
Mexico.**

In November, 1845, an envoy was sent to Mexico by the United States government with authority to propose and execute a settlement

of all disputes between the two nations; but this envoy was denied a hearing, as Mexico, fresh from one of her chronic revolutions, demanded that the Texas question must be disposed of and on Mexico's terms before any general negotiations could be entered upon, and the American envoy was obliged to return without effecting the object of his mission, March, 1846.

As early as August, 1845, President Polk had ordered General Zachary Taylor to advance into Texas with fifteen hundred troops to protect that State from invasion and to take post near the Rio Grande as an army of observation. In March, 1846, Taylor left his camp at Corpus Christi, and, having established a depot of supplies at Point Isabel, advanced to the mouth of the Rio Grande, opposite the Mexican city of Matamoras, where he erected Fort Brown. There, on April 24, 1846, he received the following message from the Mexican General Arista: "Pressed and forced into war, we enter into a struggle which we cannot avoid without being unfaithful to what is most sacred to men."

Being informed that the Mexicans were crossing the Rio Grande above Fort Brown, Taylor sent sixty dragoons under Captain Thornton to reconnoiter. These were surprised, on the 26th of April, 1846, by the Mexicans, and, after losing sixteen men, were made prisoners, Captain Thornton alone escaping by an extraordinary leap of his horse. This was the first bloodshed in the war between the United States and Mexico. General Taylor, as previously authorized by his government, called on the States of Louisiana and Texas for five thousand volunteers.

Leaving a small garrison in Fort Brown, Taylor marched back to Point Isabel, which was threatened by the Mexicans. The Mexicans under General Arista began the bombardment of Fort Brown; and Major Brown, the gallant commander of the garrison, was mortally wounded.

While returning to Fort Brown, Taylor, at the head of two thousand men, met six thousand Mexicans under Arista, at a prairie called Palo Alto, on the 8th of May; and, after a desperate battle of five hours, during which he lost only fifty-three men, Taylor gained a glorious victory. Among the mortally wounded was Major Ringgold, whose efficient battery had contributed vastly toward gaining the victory. As the officers crowded around the heroic major when he fell, he said to them: "Leave me alone. You are wanted at the front." On the following day, May 9, 1846, Taylor again defeated the Mexicans with a loss of one thousand men, at Resaca de la Palma. In this battle Captain May with a force of dragoons was ordered to charge upon a Mexican battery under General La Vega's direction, which was

General
Taylor in
Texas.

First
Blood-
shed.

Fort
Brown
Bom-
barded.

Battles of
Palo Alto
and
Resaca
de la
Palma.

doing terrible execution. In the face of a murderous fire, Captain May and his brave followers drove away or cut to pieces the Mexican cannoniers and took General La Vega prisoner at his guns. By the battles of Palo Alto and Resaca de la Palma the Mexican army was virtually annihilated.

Declaration of War.

Plan of Campaign.

On the 11th of May, 1846, the Congress of the United States declared that "war existed by the act of the Republic of Mexico," appropriated ten millions of dollars to carry on the war and authorized the President to call out fifty thousand volunteers. The Secretary of War and General Scott planned the military operations. A fleet was to sail around Cape Horn and attack the Pacific coast of Mexico; an Army of the West, under General Stephen Watts Kearny, was assembled at Fort Leavenworth to invade New Mexico and to coöperate with the Pacific fleet; an Army of the Center, under General John Ellis Wool, was collected at San Antonio de Bexar, in Texas, to invade Mexico from that point; and the Army of Occupation, under General Taylor, was largely reinforced by the new volunteers.

Disparity of Forces.

Mexico issued her declaration of war against the United States on May 23, 1846. The military forces of both nations at the opening of hostilities were small, the United States army being the smaller of the two. But this disparity was insignificant in comparison with that between the two nations. The foe of the United States in this struggle was no more formidable than would have been one of the States of her own Union. Broken by revolutions and civil wars, Mexico had practically no government or army to defend herself against the powerful foreign foe which now invaded her soil. She had officials and soldiers, but these had neither strength nor efficiency. Though one section of the United States and one of the two great political parties of the country were opposed to the war waged against Mexico, these divisions of the American people were comparatively nothing as contrasted with the dissensions and distractions of the Mexican Republic, which was torn and distracted by its chronic revolutions even in the presence of the formidable invasion of her territory by the armies of her powerful neighbor.

Anti-War Party in the United States.

As far as the United States was concerned, the war was of a sectional and a partisan character. As the annexation of Texas had been favored and effected by the South, the pro-slavery people and the Democratic party, and had been opposed by the North, the anti-slavery people and the Whig party, so the war with Mexico, as a result of that annexation, was sustained and prosecuted by the South, the pro-slavery element and the Democratic party, and opposed and denounced as unjust by the North, the anti-slavery element and the Whig party. Said a certain South Carolina writer: "It is a Southern war." In the

North some of the Whig leaders went to violent extremes in their denunciations of the war, as, for example, the great orator and statesman, Thomas Corwin, of Ohio, whose speeches in the United States Senate denouncing the war equaled in vituperation those of the Earl of Chatham in the House of Lords in denunciation of the American war. In one of his speeches Corwin expressed the hope that the Mexicans would welcome the American troops "with bloody hands to inhospitable graves."

On the 18th of May, 1846, General Taylor crossed the Rio Grande into Mexico and took possession of the city of Matamoras. In August, 1846, Taylor, at the head of six thousand men, marched against the city of Monterey, which, after a siege and assault of four days, he captured on the 24th of September, with its garrison of nine thousand Mexican troops under General Ampudia. After this triumph Taylor advanced farther into Mexico; and, after being joined by General Wool, he took possession of Victoria, the capital of the State of Tamaulipas, on the 29th of December, 1846.

Taylor's Invasion of Mexico.

Capture of Matamoras, Monterey and Victoria.

Battle of Buena Vista.

Early in 1847 a large part of Taylor's army was sent to assist General Scott in the siege of Vera Cruz; so that Taylor was left in command of only five thousand men, to oppose twenty thousand Mexicans gathering at San Luis Potosi under General Santa Anna. Santa Anna demanded Taylor's instant surrender, having sent a messenger with the demand. Taylor refused; and on Washington's Birthday and the following day—February 22 and 23, 1847—a fierce battle was fought between the armies of Taylor and Santa Anna at a plantation called Buena Vista, eleven miles from Saltillo. The Mexicans, although four times as numerous as the Americans, were badly defeated and compelled to flee during the night, leaving their dead and wounded on the field of battle. Among the killed on the American side was Lieutenant-Colonel Clay, son of the distinguished Henry Clay, of Kentucky. Among the American officers who distinguished themselves in this battle was General Taylor's former son-in-law, Colonel Jefferson Davis, who, with his gallant Mississippians, bore a conspicuous part in achieving the American victory.

In consequence of the battle of Buena Vista, the Americans were now masters of all Northern Mexico; and in September, 1847, Taylor left his army in command of General Wool and returned to the United States.

Conquest of Northern Mexico.

The Army of the West under General Kearny took formal possession of New Mexico, at Santa Fé, its capital, on the 18th of August, 1846. Leaving the greater part of his force with Colonel Doniphan at Santa Fé, Kearny, at the head of one hundred men, hastened to take possession of the Mexican province of California, on the Pacific

Conquest of New Mexico and California.

coast. While on his way to California, Kearny learned, by a messenger, that the conquest of that country had been already accomplished by Colonel John Charles Fremont, with a few United States troops, assisted by the United States navy under Commodores Sloat and Stockton.

**Operations of
Fremont,
Sloat,
Stockton
and
Kearny
in Cali-
fornia.**

Before receiving intelligence of the breaking out of hostilities, a small party of Americans, partly trappers and partly settlers, declared their independence of Mexico, at Sonoma, a small town near San Francisco, on the seventieth anniversary of American Independence, July 4, 1846. The leader of these Americans was the celebrated explorer of the Rocky Mountain region—Colonel John Charles Fremont, “the Pathfinder.” He recently had been ordered by the United States government to occupy California. Fremont and his followers acted in coöperation with the American fleet under Commodore Sloat, who had taken possession of Monterey, California, July 7, 1846, and entered San Francisco Bay two days later (July 9, 1846). Sloat was soon succeeded in command of his fleet by Commodore Stockton, who, in conjunction with Colonel Fremont, took possession of Los Angeles, then the capital of California, August 13, 1846. In September and October (1846) the Mexicans recovered Los Angeles and reconquered the greater part of California, and, after the battle of San Pasqual, December 6, 1846, hemmed in General Kearny, so that he was in great peril until he was relieved by a force sent to his aid by Commodore Stockton. Stockton and Kearny recaptured Los Angeles, after two battles with its Mexican garrison, January 10, 1847. Three days later the Mexicans surrendered to Fremont at Cowenga, January 13, 1847, thus completing the American conquest of California. On February 18, 1847, General Kearny proclaimed the annexation of California to the United States. At various times the Mexicans in California rallied against the Americans, but without success.

**Opera-
tions in
Lower
Califor-
nia and
Western
Mexico.**

The Americans, under different commanders, afterward assailed Lower California and occupied La Paz and San José during the year 1847; while, on the eastern coast of the Gulf of California, a small American naval force under Captain Lavalette took Guaymas, in October, 1847; and, on the Pacific coast of Mexico, an American squadron under Commodore Shubrick took Mazatlan, in November, 1847.

**Opera-
tions on the
Eastern
Coast of
Mexico.**

The United States navy blockaded the Mexican ports on the Gulf of Mexico in a very feeble manner from the beginning of the war and engaged in a series of operations. Commodore Conner twice attacked Alvarado, which was defended gallantly by its Mexican garrison on both occasions, August 6 and October 15, 1846. Commodore Matthew Calbraith Perry, a brother of Commodore Oliver Hazard Perry, the victor of Lake Erie, attacked Tobasco, on a river emptying in at the

southern coast of the Gulf of Mexico, but failed to take the town, though he captured some prizes and hamlets, October 23–26, 1846. Tampico was occupied after its evacuation by the Mexicans, November 15, 1846. Commodore Perry afterward took Tuspan, April 18, 1847, and Tabasco, June 15, 1847; both towns being defended very feebly by their Mexican garrisons.

In accordance with the orders of General Kearny, Colonel Doniphan, with one thousand Missouri volunteers, forced the Navajo Indians to make a treaty of peace with the United States on the 22d of November, 1846, and then proceeded to join General Wool. Doniphan defeated the Mexicans under General Ponce de Leon at Bracito, on Christmas day, 1846, and occupied El Paso two days later; and at Sacramento, on the 28th of February, 1847, he gained a victory which gave him possession of Chihuahua, a city of forty thousand inhabitants and the capital of the State of the same name. After a march of five thousand miles, Doniphan joined General Wool at Saltillo on the 22d of March, 1847. The conquest of Northern Mexico and California was now complete, and General Winfield Scott had just commenced at Vera Cruz a campaign which ended in the reduction of the Mexican capital and the military occupation of the heart of the Mexican Republic.

Late in 1846 an insurrection of Mexicans and Indians broke out in New Mexico against the Americans at a little village about fifty miles from Santa Fé; the American governor, Charles Bent, and many others being murdered; but after a number of battles the insurgents were reduced to submission by Colonel Sterling Price, of Missouri, in January, 1847.

On the 9th of March, 1847, a United States army of twelve thousand men under General Scott and a squadron under Commodore Conner appeared before Vera Cruz and soon completely invested the city. After a vigorous siege and bombardment, the city of Vera Cruz and the neighboring castle of San Juan de Ulloa, together with five thousand Mexican troops and five hundred cannon, were surrendered to Scott, on the 26th of March, 1847.

After the capture of Vera Cruz, Scott's army marched toward the city of Mexico. In a bloody battle of two days, April 18–19, 1847, at Cerro Gordo, a difficult mountain pass, Scott defeated Santa Anna, who was at the head of twelve thousand troops, strongly intrenched. The Mexicans lost one thousand men in killed and wounded, and three thousand were made prisoners by the Americans. The Mexican army was completely broken up, and Santa Anna fled on a mule.

After their victory at Cerro Gordo the Americans continued their advance toward the capital of the Mexican Republic, took possession

Doni-
phan's
Invasion
of
Mexico.

Battles of
Bracito
and Sac-
ramento.

Occupa-
tion of
Chi-
huahua.

Conquest
of
Northern
Mexico.

Insurrec-
tion in
New
Mexico.

General
Scott's
Invasion
of Mexico.

Siege and
Capture
of Vera
Cruz.

Battle of
Cerro
Gordo.

Occupation of Perote and Puebla.

of Peroté, the strongest fortress in Mexico, on the 22d of April, 1847, and on the 5th of May entered Puebla, a city of eighty thousand inhabitants, where they rested until August, after a series of victories almost unparalleled in the annals of war.

Scott in the Valley of Mexico.

After having received reinforcements, Scott left Puebla on the 7th of August, 1847, and resumed his march toward the Mexican capital; and on the 10th (August, 1847) the American troops saw the extensive valley of Mexico before them. Lakes, plains, cities and cloud-capped mountains burst upon their gaze. Away in the distance was seen the great city of the Montezumas, with its lofty domes and towers. But between that city and the American army were strong fortifications and a Mexican army of thirty thousand men under Santa Anna to be overcome.

Santa Anna's Army.

Mexican Patriotism.

Santa Anna's army was composed of regular troops and volunteers, old and young, rich and poor, men of every profession and occupation, all uniting patriotically in the defense of their country against its foreign invaders. Behind this gallant but inefficient army was the Mexican government, rent to pieces and feeble to the last degree, but still trying to unite itself to oppose the formidable foe threatening its capital. Even the Mexican clergy, incensed by the seizure of church property to meet the exigencies of the situation, were divided in the face of the foe. Though a broken nation, Mexico still deserved respect for her last earnest resistance to the invading enemy.

Battles of Contreras, San Antonio and Churubusco.

On the 20th of August, 1847, the American army, after a bloody struggle, carried the Mexican camp of Contreras by assault; General Valencia gallantly resisting the Americans for two days before he was totally routed, August 19–20, 1847. On the same day the Americans took the strong fortress of San Antonio and gained a brilliant victory over the Mexicans at Churubusco. Santa Anna's army, virtually annihilated, fled to the capital. During this bloody day the Mexicans lost four thousand men in killed and wounded, and over three thousand were made prisoners by the victorious Americans.

Short Armistice.

Scott now offered the Mexicans peace. Santa Anna asked for an armistice, which Scott granted; but, when informed that the treacherous Mexican general was improving the time by strengthening the defenses of the capital, the American commander declared the armistice at an end on the 7th of September, 1847.

Battles of Molino del Rey and Chapultepec.

The victorious Americans took by storm the strong position of Molino del Rey on the 8th of September and the lofty fortified hill of Chapultepec on the 13th of the same month, the division under General Worth bearing a conspicuous part in these bloody actions. Inside these lines was the Mexican Military College, which was defended heroically by its students, mere boys outvying veterans by their valor;

but the College was taken after a determined resistance of two days, September 12-13, 1847.

The next day—September 14, 1847—Scott entered the Mexican capital in triumph; and by his orders the Stars and Stripes were raised on the National Palace, the Hall of the Montezumas, by Generals William Jenkins Worth and John Anthony Quitman. Santa Anna and the authorities of the Mexican Republic had fled.

Scott's Occupation of the City of Mexico.

Santa Anna retired in the direction of Puebla, which he vainly endeavored to take from the Americans under General Childs. Santa Anna's purpose was to cut off all communication between General Scott and the coast, but he failed in this object. After a few battles and skirmishes, the severest of which was at Huamantla, all hostilities were at an end. The American generals then engaged in quarreling among themselves and in arresting each other; and in February, 1848, General Scott was superseded in command by General William Orlando Butler.

Subsequent Actions.

Early in 1848 General Price led a second American expedition into Chihuahua; and after the treaty of peace had been made, but before he had heard of it, he again occupied the city of Chihuahua, March 7, 1848, and defeated the Mexicans at Santa Cruz de las Rosales, March 16, 1848.

Price's Second Invasion of Chihuahua.

The United States armies which had performed the great exploits just referred to—invaded the enemy's country, defeated its armies in every battle, captured its chief seaports and its strong fortresses, occupied its capital and completely destroyed its military power—was no regular force prepared by years of discipline for the field, but consisted mainly of the thousands of volunteers that flocked to the field from every State of the Union, among whom the few regiments of United States regulars were lost in numbers. These armies were commanded by efficient officers trained at West Point for the profession of arms. The two great generals of the war—Taylor and Scott—were both Whigs, members of the party opposed to the war. The result of the war was to give the United States a more decided military character than it had yet possessed.

Composition of the United States Armies.

The United States government had resolved "to compel the enemy to contribute, as far as practicable, towards the expenses of the war"; and for this purpose two measures were resorted to. One of these measures was the collection of the duties imposed upon all merchandise admitted into the Mexican ports occupied by the Americans; which, as the United States government admitted, "was, in effect, the seizure of the public revenues of Mexico." The other measure was in the form of forced requisitions and forced contributions from the enemy wherever the Americans occupied the enemy's country. As early as September, 1846, the Secretary of War had instructed General Taylor

Forced Supplies

to "draw supplies from the enemy without paying for them and to require contributions, if in that way you are satisfied you can get abundant supplies." The same instructions were sent to General Scott in the spring of 1847. But both generals declined to raise forced supplies, though Scott exacted several large contributions from the conquered country after his occupation of the Mexican capital.

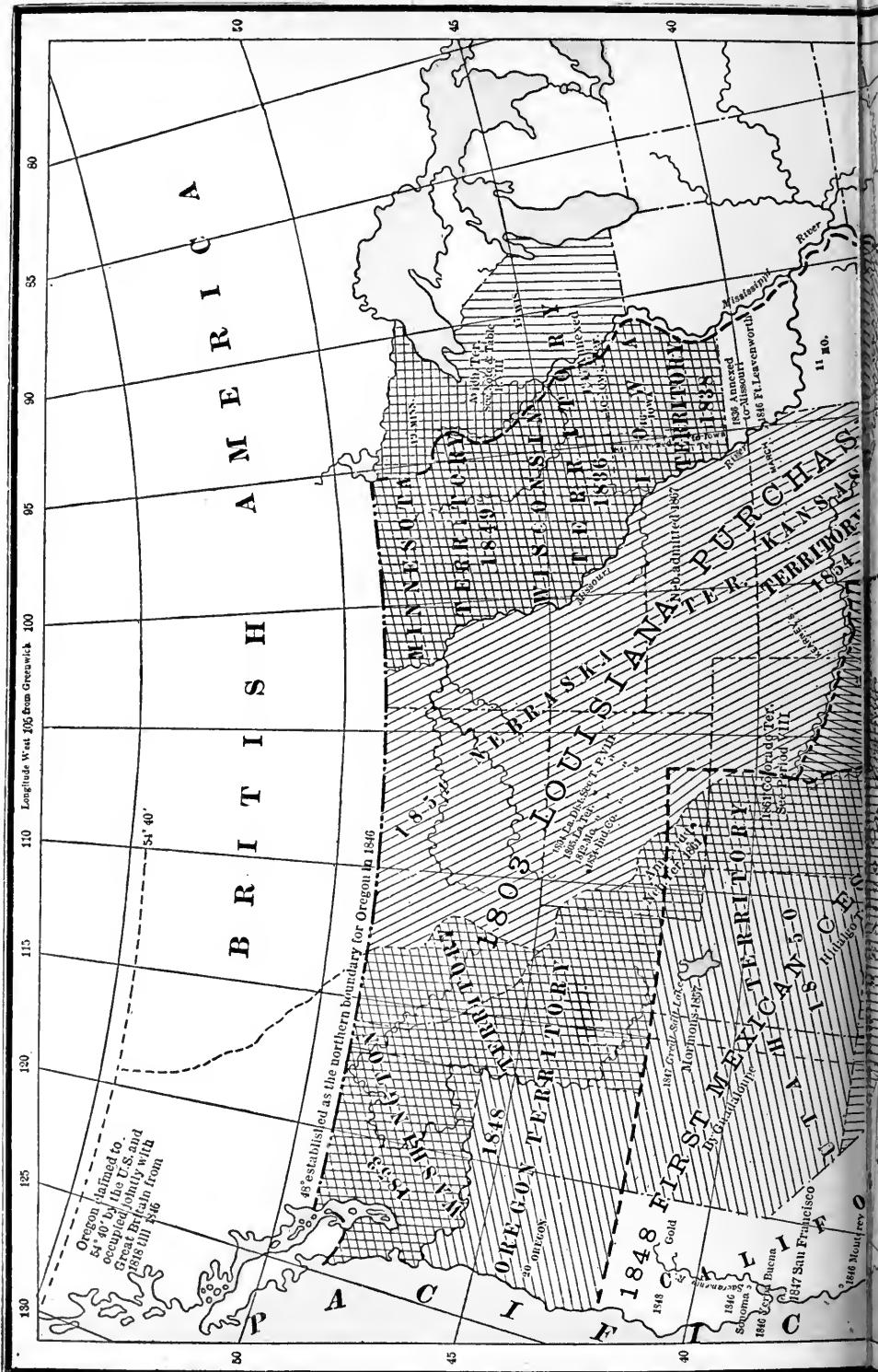
**Wilmet
Proviso.**

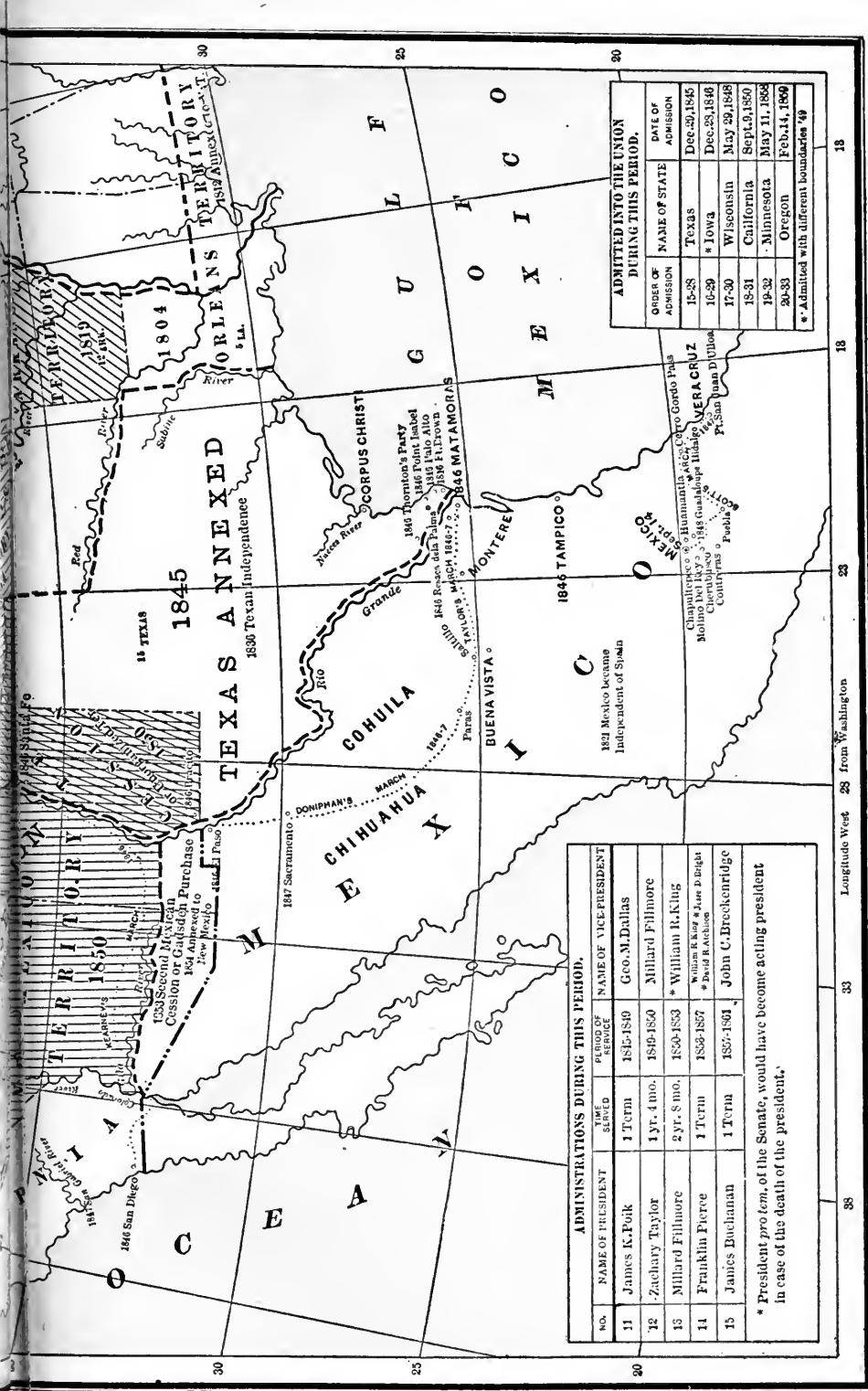
In July, 1846—less than three months after the outbreak of hostilities—the United States made overtures of peace, which the Mexican President referred to the Mexican Congress, where the matter rested. In announcing to the United States Congress his peace proposal to Mexico, President Polk suggested the appropriation of a certain sum as an indemnity for any territory that the United States might retain at the close of the war. In the debate which followed, David Wilmot, a Democratic Representative in Congress from Pennsylvania, moved the following proviso to the appropriation: "That there shall be neither slavery nor involuntary servitude in any territory on the continent of America which shall be acquired by or annexed to the United States by virtue of this appropriation, or in any other manner whatsoever." This *Wilmot Proviso*, as it is called, was adopted hastily by the House of Representatives, but was not acted upon by the Senate because it was too late in the session. In the next session the proviso was again adopted by the House of Representatives, but was rejected by the Senate, whereupon it was abandoned by the House.

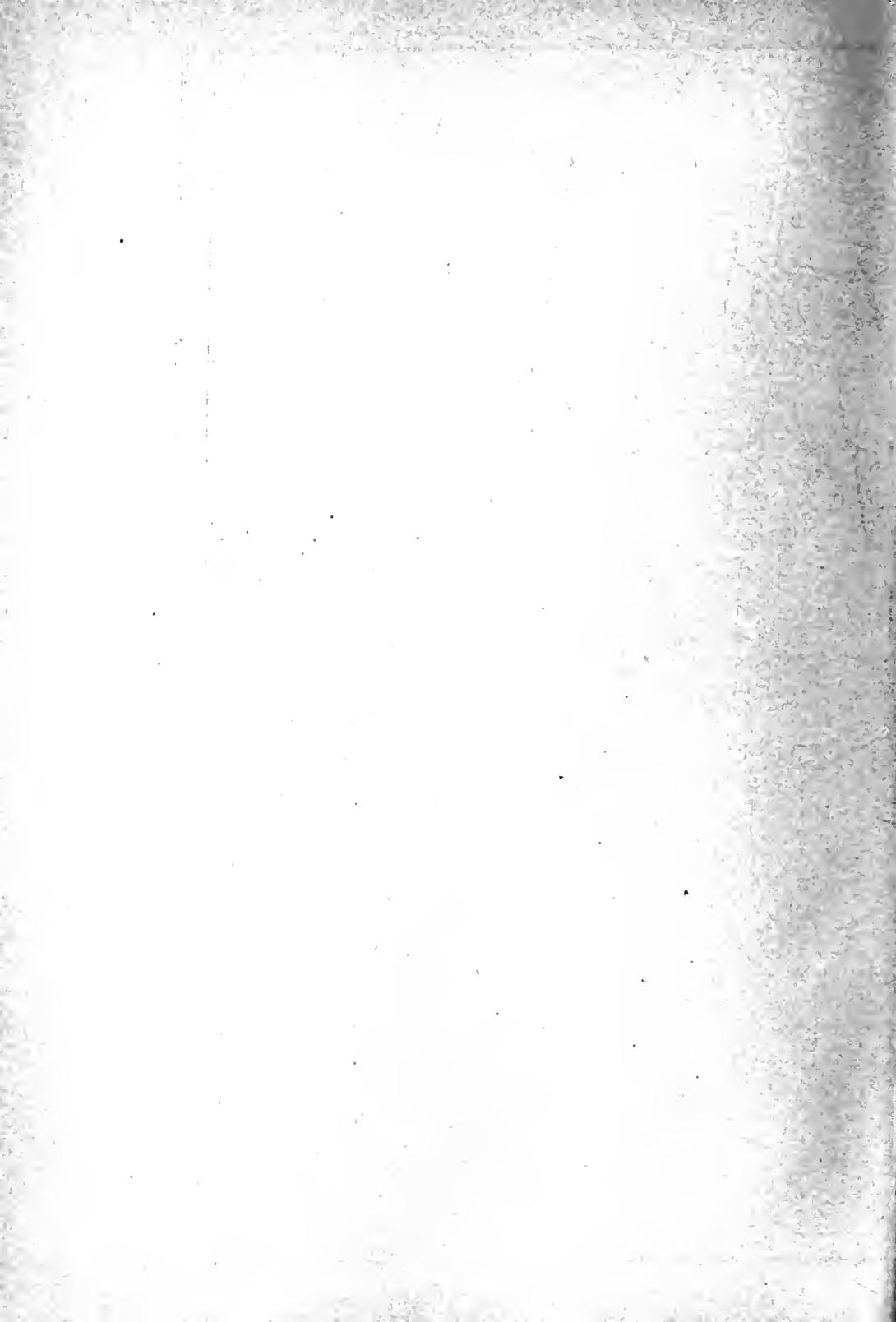
**Peace
Negotiations.**

As early as April, 1847, after the United States Congress had made the requisite appropriation which he had asked as necessary to insure peace negotiation, President Polk appointed Nicholas Philip Trist, chief clerk of the State Department, as a commissioner to proceed to Mexico with the form of a treaty of peace requiring Mexico to cede a part of her territory, for which, however, she would receive some money compensation. Mr. Trist had to wait at General Scott's headquarters in the valley of Mexico until August, 1847, before he obtained an interview with the Mexican commissioners. At his several meetings with them he found that there was a wide difference between his peace conditions and their terms. The Mexican commissioners were reluctant to give up any territory, even that between the Nueces and the Rio Grande which was claimed by the United States as a part of Texas. They had very positive instructions not to sign any treaty providing for the cession of territory unless it prohibited slavery in the ceded territory. Mr. Trist replied: "No President of the United States would dare to present any such treaty to the Senate." This was the chief obstacle to the signing of a treaty, the Mexican commissioners demanding that slavery must be excluded from the ceded territory, and the United States commissioner opposing such restriction;

**Mexican
Opposition
to
Slavery
in Ceded
Territory.**







and the negotiations failed for the time, the commissioners separating in September, 1847, without effecting anything.

Commissioner Trist was recalled by the United States government; but he disregarded the orders of his government by remaining in Mexico, and in November, 1847, he entered into fresh negotiations for peace with new commissioners on the part of Mexico. The collapse of Mexico's resistance to the American invaders obliged the new Mexican commissioners to accept any peace terms dictated to them; and the result of the negotiations was the treaty of peace signed by Mr. Trist and the Mexican commissioners at Guadalupe Hidalgo, a suburb of the Mexican capital, on the 2d of February, 1848. By this treaty Mexico ceded the whole of Texas, New Mexico and Upper, or New California to the United States; while the United States stipulated to restore her other conquests and to pay to Mexico fifteen million dollars for the ceded territory, and also to assume the old claims of American citizens against Mexico, amounting to more than three million dollars. Other provisions were modified at Washington, and the alterations were accepted by the Mexican Congress, in session at Queretaro; and the ratifications were exchanged at Queretaro, May 30, 1848. President Polk proclaimed peace, July 4, 1848; and the United States military forces speedily evacuated the territory that still remained to Mexico, embracing only about half of her original domain.

Peace of
Guadalupe
Hidalgo.

California
and New
Mexico
Ceded
to the
United
States.

SECTION VII.—COMPROMISE OF 1850, SLAVERY AND SECESSION (A. D. 1848—1861).

THE war with Mexico and the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo added more than eight hundred thousand square miles of new territory to the two million square miles constituting the former domain of the United States, thus enlarging the National area more than a third. This would have been an embarrassing accession of territory to any nation. To the United States at that period it presented overwhelming difficulties because of its relation to the slavery question, as it involved an agitation of that disturbing question greater in intensity than any previous agitation on that subject, shaking the Nation to its very foundations and menacing its very existence. The Southern people claimed the war as their special work, and therefore considered themselves as entitled to its spoils, thus seeking the establishment of slavery in the newly-acquired National domain. On the contrary, Northern anti-slavery men declared that the war had been a sufficient evil in itself, and strenuously opposed the additional evil of slavery extension. Thus the two great sections of the Union were arrayed against each other

The New
Domain
of the
United
States
and the
Slavery
Question.

respecting the disposition of the slavery question in the newly-acquired domain.

Gold in California and Emigration Thither.

Besides its variety of scenery, climate, soil and productions, California soon unfolded a new source of wealth, hitherto undreamed of. In January, 1848—shortly before the Peace of Guadalupe Hidalgo—gold was discovered accidentally at Sutter's mill, just then erected along a small branch of the Sacramento river; and the existence of the same precious metal was disclosed in other localities of the newly-acquired region. As a result of these discoveries, a stream of emigration set in towards California from all parts of the United States and from every quarter of the civilized world, and the newly-acquired territory was soon covered with gold diggers and settlers who made their homes in the new land of gold. Said President Polk in speaking of these new National accessions: “The acquisition of California and New Mexico, the settlement of the Oregon boundary, and the annexation of Texas, extending to the Rio Grande, are results which, combined, are of greater consequence, and will add more to the strength and wealth of the Nation, than any which have preceded them since the adoption of the Constitution.”

New Difficulties.

But President Polk saw a new source of danger in the new acquisitions and the National perils brought with them in reference to the slavery question and the serious dissensions resulting therefrom. In communicating the exchange of ratifications between the United States of America and the United States of Mexico, the President addressed Congress thus: “There has perhaps been no period since the warning so impressively given to his countrymen by Washington, to guard against geographical divisions and sectional parties, which appeals with greater force than the present to the patriotic, sober-minded and reflecting of all parties and of all sections of the country. As we extend the blessings of the Union over new regions, shall we be so unwise as to endanger its existence by geographical divisions and dissensions.” These words of President Polk were written while Congress and the Nation were agitated by stormy discussions on the subject of slavery extension or slavery restriction in the new domain. All signs of the times indicated a serious division between the views of the North and those of the South on the slavery question, being a more menacing strife than the war with Mexico, which gave rise to it.

The Mormons and Their Settlement in the New Domain.

A spot in the new domain was settled by a new religious sect which had grown up in the United States—namely, the *Mormons*, or *Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-Day Saints*; the circumstances of whose growth are among the most remarkable of modern times. This strange sect was founded in 1827 by a young man named Joseph Smith, of Central New York, a native of Vermont, who claimed to have found a

Bible whose leaves were of gold, near the village of Palmyra, where it was pretended to have lain hidden in the earth for centuries, and whither its finder had been directed by a vision. This Bible—named the *Book of Mormon*—was said to contain an account of the ancient inhabitants of America, with a new gospel for mankind. Smith claimed to have received repeated divine revelations, and he readily found followers. The Mormons emigrated from New York, and after forming a settlement at Kirtland, Ohio, in 1830, removed to Jackson county, Missouri, in 1831, where they remained eight years, suffering the most violent persecutions from the inhabitants, and being frequently mobbed and finally driven away in 1839. They then settled in Illinois and founded the town of Nauvoo, on the Mississippi river, where, to the number of fifteen thousand, they remained eight years, suffering the same persecution and mob violence which they had endured in Missouri; and in 1844 Joseph Smith was assassinated in jail at Carthage, Illinois, by a mob. Brigham Young became his successor as head of the Mormon Church and ruler of his people, and so remained thirty-three years, until his death in 1877. In 1847 the Mormons emigrated to what was then a part of the Territory of California, which had just been conquered from Mexico, and which in 1850 was erected into a new Territory of the United States and named *Utah*. They settled on the shores of Great Salt Lake in 1848 and founded Salt Lake City. They named their new country *Deseret*, or *Land of the Honey-Bee*. They called themselves *Latter-Day Saints*, and all the rest of mankind they designated as *Gentiles*. They have had missionaries in other parts of the world and have been constantly making new proselytes, and the Mormon community now numbers several hundred thousand. Their practice of polygamy for more than forty years prevented the admission of Utah as a State, and Congress passed repeated enactments to suppress a practice so antagonistic to the general sentiment of Christendom. The Mormon Church is a powerful hierarchy, and the head of the Church is an absolute despot as spiritual and temporal ruler.

The old territorial domain of the United States was organized quickly. Wisconsin was quietly admitted into the Union as a State, May 29, 1848, its western boundary being the Mississippi and St. Croix rivers. During the same year, 1848, Oregon Territory was formally organized by act of Congress, after frequent debates respecting the extension or restriction of slavery within its limits, and an attempt to extend the Missouri Compromise to the Pacific Ocean, so that the territory south of thirty-six degrees and thirty minutes north latitude might be assigned to slavery. Oregon Territory, as organized, extended from the forty-second to the forty-ninth parallel of north latitude, or from the newly-acquired domain of Upper California north-

Admis-
sion of
Wiscon-
sin.

Oregon
and Min-
nesota
Terri-
tories.

ward to the British possessions, and from the Rocky Mountains westward to the Pacific Ocean; thus embracing the present States of Oregon, Washington and Idaho and portions of Montana and Wyoming. In the same year, 1848, a serious danger disturbed the new Territory of Oregon; the Indians within its limits having made war on its white settlers, to their extreme peril. The next year, 1849, Minnesota Territory was organized peaceably, comprising the present State of that name and all of the two Dakotas east of the Missouri and White Earth Rivers.

**Old
Questions
Sub-
siding.**

Old questions were being set at rest. The tariff, as revised in 1842 and again in 1846, had been framed so as to indicate the relinquishment of the protective system. Old differences regarding the tenure and sale of the public lands were subsiding, for the time at least. The long-vexed subject of internal improvements was finally settled on general principles establishing the policy of National enterprises at the expense of the National government. Financial troubles were settled, the National government acquiescing in the renunciation of a United States Bank and in supporting a National currency. Though vastly increased by the war with Mexico, the National debt occasioned no public burdens and no altercations, there being no controversy as to its disposition and no doubt as to its ultimate payment. All these questions of a politico-economic nature had ceased to excite or even to interest the American people.

**Organiza-
tion of the
New
Domain.**

The tranquillity of the Nation on the questions just alluded to contrasted strongly with its dissensions on the question of slavery in the newly-acquired territory. Questions relating to these new acquisitions demanded settlement, such as the organization of California and New Mexico, the disputed boundary between Texas and New Mexico, the relations with the Indian tribes in the new domain; but all these questions had to give precedence to the settlement of the slavery controversy.

**Revived
Slavery
Agitation.**

Thus the slavery question deeply overshadowed everything else and assumed proportions of the greatest magnitude. The annexation of Texas and the resultant war with Mexico had been regarded in every section of the Union as committing the Nation to the support of slavery more decisively than ever. Whether well or ill founded, the reasons for this view aroused public sentiment in the North to undo what had been done in the interest of the slaveholding South, while Southern feeling was fully resolved to carry out the pro-slavery measures which had been inaugurated. The North felt that by the annexation of Texas the South had gained an enormous increase of power, to which no new addition should be made, but rather from which something must be taken, if possible, either by the reduction of the area of Texas or by

preventing all of the Texan domain from being peopled by slave-holders. Especially did the North demand that slavery must be prohibited in New Mexico and California. On the other hand, the South insisted that all of Texas must be slave territory and that New Mexico and California must be allowed to choose for themselves whether or not they would have slavery within their limits, as these territories were acquired more by Southern than by Northern exertions. The prospect that both New Mexico and California were to be closed against slavery naturally disappointed the South, while greatly elating the North. This Southern disappointment and this corresponding Northern exaltation fomented the strife between the two sections.

The increase of the anti-slavery sentiment in the North led to the formation of a new political party in opposition to the extension of slavery into the newly-acquired domain, called the *Free Soil Party*, which entered the Presidential campaign of 1848 as a new factor. In that campaign the Whig and Democratic parties showed a disposition to ignore the disturbing slavery question. The Free Soil party, however, in its National Convention at Buffalo, in August, 1848, declared it to be "the duty of the federal government to relieve itself from all responsibility for the existence or continuance of slavery," and "the only safe means of preventing the extension of slavery * * * to prohibit its extension by act of Congress." Public opinion being thus touched, the Northern leaders of the Whig party showed a disposition to take an anti-slavery stand. Notwithstanding all the aid of the patronage of the National administration, the Democratic party lost the election, through the appearance of the Free Soil party upon the scene of National politics.

Thus, in the Presidential election in the fall of 1848, the Whig candidate, General Zachary Taylor, of Louisiana, whose great military achievements in Mexico had made him a popular favorite, was elected President of the United States, with Millard Fillmore, of New York, as Vice President. Thus the Whig party, which had opposed the war with Mexico so bitterly, had won the election by nominating the great hero of the war, who, although he had been classed as a Whig, himself had never voted for any Presidential candidate in his life, according to his own statement at the time. The Democratic candidate for President was Lewis Cass, of Michigan, one of the great statesmen of the time, who was one of the great lights of the United States Senate when that body was adorned by such geniuses as Webster, Clay, Calhoun, Benton, Corwin, Buchanan, etc. The Democratic candidate for Vice President was General William Orlando Butler, of Kentucky, who had served with distinction in the war with Mexico. Ex-President Martin Van Buren was the candidate of the Free Soil party, in opposition to

Free Soil Party.

*Election
of
General
Taylor as
President.*

the extension of slavery into the Territories, with Charles Francis Adams, of Massachusetts, son of ex-President John Quincy Adams, as candidate for Vice President.

Action against Slavery in Congress. When Congress assembled in December, 1848, it seemed disposed to take more decided action against slavery than it had ever done before; and, on motion of Joseph M. Root, of Ohio, the House of Representatives instructed its Committee on Territories to report a bill or bills providing Territorial governments for New Mexico and California, "excluding slavery." The House passed a bill for the admission of California as a Free State, but the bill was defeated in the Senate because of the prohibition of slavery. Instead of confining themselves to the organization of the Territories against slavery, some members of Congress suggested the abolition of the slave trade in the District of Columbia, while others favored the abolition of slavery itself in the District. But beyond extending the revenue laws to California, Congress did not take any decisive action on the question of slavery within its limits, though proposing and discussing the question extensively.

Southern Congressional Convention and Calhoun's Address to the South. The anti-slavery demonstrations alarmed the Southern members of Congress; and they accordingly held a convention, December 23, 1848, at which a committee was appointed to report upon certain resolutions relating to the slavery question. John C. Calhoun, still a United States Senator from South Carolina, prepared an address of the Southern Congressmen at an adjourned meeting of the convention, January 15, 1849, inveighing against the aggressions of the North, especially its evasion of the Fugitive Slave Law and its abolitionism. In exact words, the language of this address was partly as follows: "We ask not, as the North alleges we do, for the extension of slavery. That would make a discrimination in our favor as unjust and unconstitutional as the discrimination they ask against us in their favor. * * * What, then, we do insist on is, not to extend slavery, but that we shall not be prohibited from immigrating with our property into the Territories of the United States because we are slaveholders." The address concluded with an earnest appeal to the South to be united. John McPherson Berrien, a United States Senator from Georgia, proposed an address to the people of the United States instead of one to the South alone; but the original address was adopted, January 22, 1849.

President Taylor, A. D. 1849-1850. As the 4th of March, 1849, fell on the Sabbath, the inauguration of President Taylor did not take place until the 5th. He came into office at a critical time, when the Union was menaced with dismemberment on account of the agitation of the slavery question, which practically divided the Nation into two hostile sections. The new President instructed the United States officials in the newly-acquired territories to encourage the inhabitants to organize themselves.

The first people to adopt the new President's suggestions were the Mormons of Deseret, the territory soon afterward named Utah, who decided against the introduction of slavery into their territory. The next to adopt the same course by organizing and declaring against slavery were the settlers of Santa Fé county, New Mexico. But the only regular organization was that of the inhabitants of California, who, in a convention at San Francisco, in September and October, 1849, framed a State constitution expressly prohibiting slavery. The North was highly exultant and the South defiant at the approaching issue of the strife.

The New Territories against Slavery.

California's Constitution.

When Congress assembled in December, 1849, it was at once agitated by the slavery question, and three weeks passed before the House of Representatives was able to elect its Speaker, when Howell Cobb, of Georgia, was chosen. Very soon afterward Senator Henry Stuart Foote, of Mississippi, introduced a bill in the United States Senate for the organization of the new territorial acquisitions, January 16, 1850. Next came a series of resolutions in the United States Senate, proposed by Henry Clay, the author of the Missouri Compromise of 1820 and the Tariff Compromise of 1833, in favor of a new compromise on the existing slavery question. Though disappointed in his Presidential aspirations for a quarter of a century, his fervent ambition and his true patriotism shone forth as strongly as ever; and, in the interest of National harmony and for the preservation of the Union, he urged concessions on both sides. It was a serious crisis for the Republic, as the menaces of secession on the part of the Southern leaders were loud and alarming, and civil war was threatened.

Slavery Agitation in Congress.

Clay's Proposal of Compromise.

Clay's resolutions provided for the abolition of the slave trade in the District of Columbia, but for the maintenance of the institution of slavery in the District; for the restitution of all fugitive slaves escaping from the Slave States into the Free States; for the admission of California as a Free State, in accordance with the provisions of her anti-slavery State constitution; for the organization of New Mexico and Utah, the latter comprehending the Mormon settlement of Deseret, into Territories without mention of slavery; and the settlement of the disputed boundary between Texas and New Mexico, January 29, 1850. Weeks were absorbed in fruitless debates, as Clay's plan of compromise satisfied neither the adherents nor the opponents of slavery, and both stoutly maintained their hostile attitudes. While these slavery discussions were in progress in the Senate, President Taylor communicated California's anti-slavery State constitution to Congress in the usual form, February, 1850.

Clay's Compromise Resolutions.

The threatening clouds of civil war became portentous, as the peril which confronted the Nation was of the gravest character. The ex-

Calhoun's Defiance.

treme views of the South were voiced loudly in Congress, especially in the Senate by John C. Calhoun, the leader of the Southern State Rights party for a quarter of a century. On the contrary, the extreme views of anti-slavery people of the North were championed very feebly, as the great Northern leader in the Senate, Daniel Webster, aspired to be the great leader of the whole Nation. Like Clay, as a warm friend of the Union, he labored to heal the dissensions which threatened the Nation's existence, and therefore warmly supported Clay's compromise measures. Indeed, Webster became so conciliatory in his attitude toward the slaveholding South that he was denounced mercilessly by the ardent anti-slavery people of the North as having gone over to the pro-slavery party in his famous 7th of March speech.

**Webster's
7th of
March
Speech.**

Said Webster in his 7th of March speech: "I speak, not as a Massachusetts man nor as a Northern man, but as an American and a member of the Senate of the United States. I speak for the preservation of the Union." After alluding to the slavery question in general and deplored the vehemence of its Southern supporters, he adverted to the Territories, maintaining that slavery was already excluded from them by "the law of nature, of physical geography." He asserted that Texas was a Slave State by the terms of annexation, while New Mexico and California were to be Free States, both by the will of their inhabitants and by the nature of their climates and their soils. Said he: "The whole territory within the former United States or in the newly-acquired Mexican provinces has a fixed and settled character, now fixed and settled by law which cannot be repealed; in the case of Texas without a violation of the public faith, and by no human power in regard to California or New Mexico." He argued that therefore it was useless to wrangle about provisos of Congress for the toleration or prohibition of slavery. He deprecated the Northern denunciations of the fugitive slave measure and the maintenance of slavery in the District of Columbia. This speech of Webster's contributed to the adoption of Clay's compromise.

**Seward's
Opposition.**

Still both Houses of Congress continued to be agitated by violent debates on the all-absorbing slavery question. In the Senate the able and distinguished anti-slavery leader, William Henry Seward, of New York, opposed Clay's compromise measures because, as he said, their principles were repudiated by "the law of nature written on the hearts and consciences of freemen."

**Southern
Threats
of Se-
cession.**

The pro-slavery men in Congress violently opposed the admission of California into the Union as a Free State, boldly declaring that such a proceeding would be a valid reason for the Slave States to secede from the Union. These bold threats so alarmed the Northern friends of the Union that they became ready to acquiesce in any compromise measure;

Clay's
Commit-
tee of
Thirteen.

and finally a committee of thirteen was appointed in the United States Senate, with Clay as chairman and six other Senators from the Slave States and six from the Free States, to consider Clay's plan of compromise. This committee reported the compromise in three bills; the first admitting California as a Free State, organizing New Mexico and Utah as Territories without mention of slavery and arranging the disputed boundary between Texas and New Mexico by a large indemnity to Texas in payment of her claims; the second providing for the recovery of fugitive slaves, and the third abolishing slavery in the District of Columbia, May 8, 1850. Angry debates followed, and a settlement seemed far off.

Clayton-
Bulwer
Treaty.

In 1850, during the short administration of President Zachary Taylor, his Secretary of State, John Middleton Clayton, on the part of the United States, and Minister Bulwer, the British diplomatic representative to the United States, on the part of Great Britain, negotiated the famous agreement named in their honor the *Clayton-Bulwer Treaty*, which was speedily ratified by both governments. This treaty provided that neither the United States nor Great Britain ever should obtain "exclusive control" over "any means of communication" between the Atlantic and the Pacific by a ship canal by way of the Nicaraguan route, nor fortify it; that in case of war between the United States and Great Britain war vessels of either power shall pass freely through it; that everything shall be done to further the construction of such a canal; that the canal, when constructed, shall be neutralized—that is, kept forever open and free by both governments so long as no unjust commercial discriminations are made; that the two powers shall invite every state in the civilized world to enter into similar stipulations; that the two governments, desiring not only to accomplish a "particular object," but also to "establish a general principle," will "extend their protection" to any other practicable communications across the isthmus, whether by canal or railway, including especially the Tehuan-tepec and Panama projects.

President
Taylor's
Death.

While the slavery question was absorbing the attention of Congress and the Nation, President Taylor was attacked by a sudden illness, of which he died on July 9, 1850. In accordance with the provisions of the National Constitution, the Vice President, Millard Fillmore, took the oath of office on the following day and immediately assumed the duties of President of the United States. He selected a new Cabinet, with Daniel Webster at its head as Secretary of State, and used the whole power and influence of his administration in favor of Clay's compromise measures.

President
Fillmore,
A. D.
1850—
1853.

As one bill for all the compromise measures proposed by Clay, the compromise at first was rejected; but after separate bills had been sub-

Compro-
mise Act
of 1850.

stituted for each of the proposed measures these separate bills were passed successively by both Houses of Congress. The bill for the admission of California as a Free State, the erection of New Mexico and Utah into Territories without mention of slavery and the payment of ten million dollars from the National treasury to Texas in purchase of her claims to a large portion of New Mexico was passed on September 9, 1850. The bill for the arrest and return to their masters of all fugitive slaves who should escape into the Free States was adopted nine days later, September 18, 1850; and the bill for the abolition of the slave trade in the District of Columbia was carried through two days afterward, September 20, 1850. Such was the famous *Compromise Act of 1850*, passed after four months' discussion, and which at the time was supposed to settle the slavery question forever.

Admis-
sion of
Cal-
ifornia.

Upon receiving the signature of President Fillmore the Compromise Act of 1850 became a law; and California entered the Union as a Free State—the thirty-first star in the great American constellation and the first State admitted on the Pacific coast and west of the Rocky Mountains. Its first two United States Senators were Colonel John Charles Fremont and William McKendree Gwin. The new Territories of Utah and New Mexico at first were of vast extent. Utah extended from the Rocky Mountains westward to California, and included, in addition to the area of the present State of Utah, nearly all of the present Nevada, the western half of the present Colorado and the south-western part of the present Wyoming. New Mexico extended from Texas to California, embracing all of the present New Mexico and Arizona, with a large area in the southern part of the present Colorado and the southern portion of the present Nevada.

Continued
Contro-
versy.

Thus ended a domestic controversy on the slavery question precipitated by the annexation of Texas, the war with Mexico and the Wilmot Proviso, and which agitated and convulsed the Nation for six years, since the Presidential campaign of 1844; the questions thus supposed to be settled permanently occupying the attention of Congress and the American people during that entire period. But the supposed permanent settlement turned out to be a delusion; and the slavery discussion did not cease, notwithstanding the frantic efforts of the politicians of both the Whig and Democratic parties to keep the question out of National politics, and the denunciation of all who sought to continue the agitation as disturbers of the public peace. In his first annual message to Congress, in December, 1850, President Fillmore assured the Nation's Senators and Representatives that "we have been rescued from the wide and boundless agitation that surrounded us, and have a firm, distinct and legal ground to rest upon." Yet on the floors of Congress, in courts, in pulpits, in the press, in all public places and



JOHN C.
CALHOUN



DANIEL
WEBSTER



LEWIS CASS



HENRY CLAY

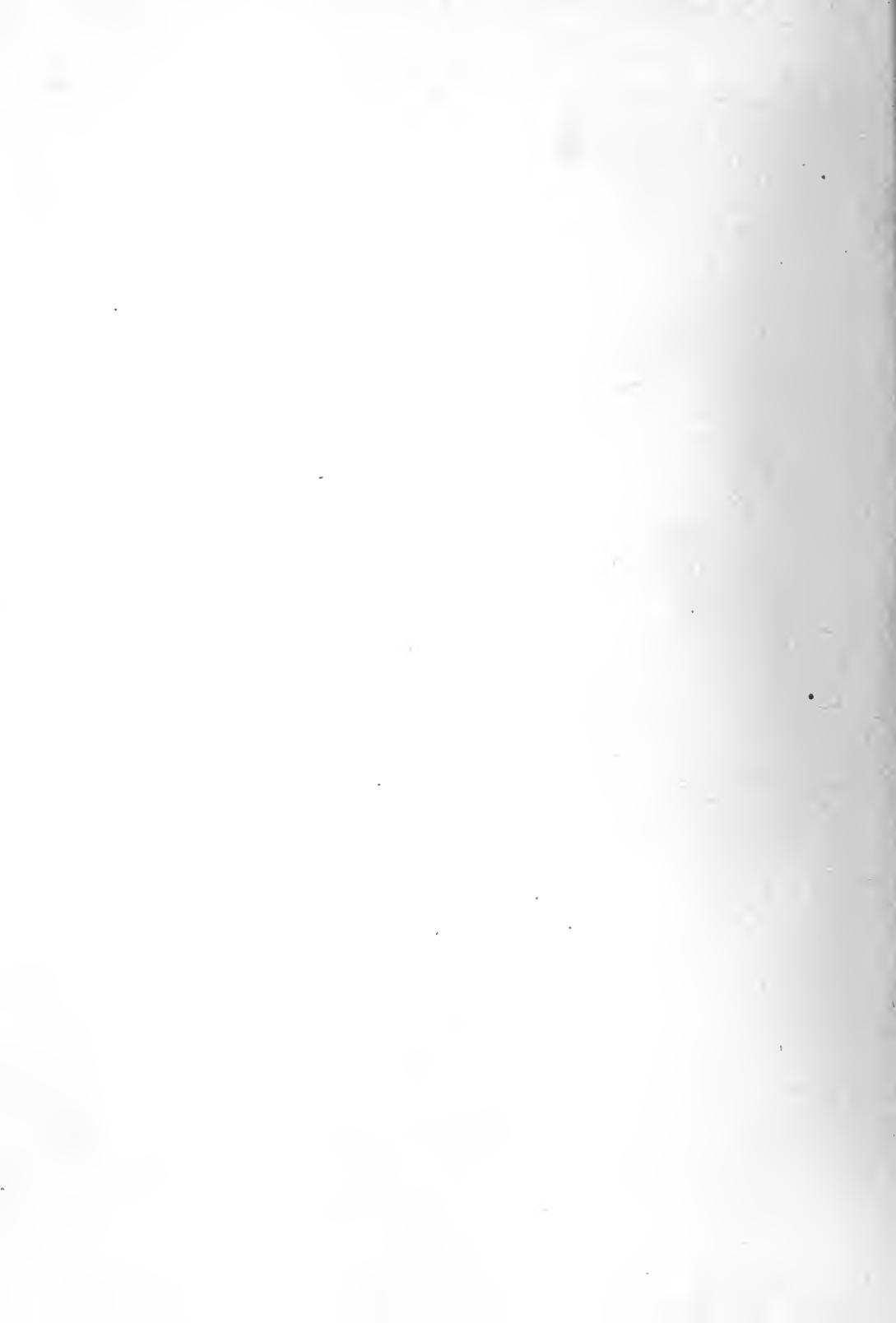


STEPHEN A. DOUGLAS



THOMAS H. BENTON

AMERICAN POLITICAL LEADERS



in the private homes of the land the slavery discussion continued. Unlike the other two great compromises, that of 1850 did not bring peace.

One provision of the Compromise Act of 1850—the *Fugitive Slave Law*—was drawn up by United States Senator James Murray Mason, of Virginia, the Confederate commissioner to Great Britain during the Great Civil War eleven years afterward. Senator Mason was believed by the anti-slavery people to have made it as offensive to the North as possible and to have framed it in such terms as would render its enforcement impossible, both to humiliate the North and to exasperate the South by new illustrations of Northern unfaithfulness to Southern claims. Anti-slavery men contended that there was no necessity for a new law about fugitive slaves, as only about a thousand slaves, a thirtieth of one per cent. of the entire slave population of the South, escaped during the very year in which the act was passed. The National Constitution stated explicitly that a person bound to service or labor in one State, escaping into another State, should be delivered up on claim of the party to whom such service or labor might be due; but the Constitution stated explicitly also that no person should be deprived of liberty without due process of law. The Fugitive Slave Law of 1850 provided no process of law except the hearing of the claim, without admitting the testimony of the alleged fugitive slave or allowing him the benefit of jury trial.

Fugitive
Slave
Law.

The Fugitive Slave Law was intensely offensive to the people of the Free States, and its character aroused them from Maine to Iowa. However the Northern people may have been divided on the question of freedom or slavery in the South and in the new Territories, they were, by a large majority, for freedom on their own soil; and now their own soil was no longer to be free to those who could be claimed as fugitive slaves. As experience proved, any negroes could be claimed as fugitive slaves. Free colored men and women could be claimed and carried off as slaves. In one year from the passage of this law more seizures of alleged fugitive slaves occurred in the Free States than in all the previous sixty years since 1790.

Opposi-
tion to
the Law
in the
North.

The Fugitive Slave Law met with such opposition in the Free States that the execution and violation of the law in several instances led to serious results and much bitter sectional feeling. Among these may be mentioned the riot at Christiana, Lancaster county, Pennsylvania, in 1851, a serious affray which resulted in the killing of the Maryland slaveholder whose attempt to recover his fugitive slaves had caused the riot, and which ended in a mistrial in the United States Court in Philadelphia. Another instance was a riot in Boston, caused by an attempt to arrest a fugitive slave, and the killing of the United States marshal who attempted the arrest. Fugitive slaves were assisted in escaping

Riots
and
the
“Under-
ground
Rail-
road.”

to Canada by a sort of secret concert of action among their sympathizers in the Free States, known as the "underground railroad."

Last of
Clay's
Compromises.

A most distinguished American statesman characterized the Compromise of 1850 as "a proof of infatuation." It was the last of Clay's compromises designed to bring domestic peace to the American people, and in which his great fellow compeers, Calhoun and Webster also figured prominently, Calhoun dying while the measure was still under discussion, and Clay and Webster two years after its adoption; and with the disappearance of these great leaders their work in this instance soon vanished.

Deaths
of the
Great
Trio of
States-
men.

Thus the great trio of statesmen and orators who for more than a quarter of a century had adorned the United States Senate with their eloquence and greatness—Calhoun, Clay and Webster—ended their earthly career during Taylor's and Fillmore's administrations. Calhoun, the Great Southern champion of "State Rights," slavery, nullification, secession, etc., died at Washington, March 3, 1850, at the age of sixty-eight. Clay died at Washington, June 29, 1852, at the age of seventy-five; and Webster died at his home at Marshfield, Massachusetts, October 24, 1852, at the age of seventy.

Popular
Delusion.

Thus, as we have just observed, both the Whig and Democratic parties accepted the Compromise Act of 1850 as a final settlement of the slavery question, and both sections of the Union in the main considered the question at rest forever; but this delusion lasted only a few years, as we shall see presently.

Anti-
Slavery
and
Aboli-
tionists.

A large portion of the people of the Free States considered slavery morally wrong and a violation of the rights of man and therefore inconsistent with the principles and practices of the Christian religion and incompatible with a republican form of government. The abolitionists were very generally Quakers, a sect whose principles forbid the holding of slaves. Among these were Lucretia Mott, of Philadelphia, and the poet, John Greenleaf Whittier, of Massachusetts. But the great abolitionist leaders were William Lloyd Garrison and Wendell Phillips, of Massachusetts; Gerrit Smith and Samuel Joseph May, of New York; Joshua Reed Giddings, of Ohio; George Washington Julian, of Indiana; Cassius Marcellus Clay, of Kentucky, son of General Green Clay, of the War of 1812, and a relative of Henry Clay; and Owen Lovejoy, of Illinois, brother of the martyred Rev. Elijah Parish Lovejoy, who was murdered by a pro-slavery mob at Atlon, Illinois, in 1837, as we have already observed. In 1851 a sensation was produced by the publication of *Uncle Tom's Cabin*, the celebrated work of Mrs. Harriet Elizabeth Beecher Stowe, of New York, daughter of the Rev. Lyman Beecher and sister of the Rev. Henry Ward Beecher, which did much to strengthen the anti-slavery sentiment in the North.

"Uncle
Tom's
Cabin."

As already observed, the Methodist and Presbyterian Churches of the United States were divided on the slavery question, into the Methodist Church North and the Methodist Church South, and the Presbyterian Church North and the Presbyterian Church South.

The ten years following the Compromise of 1850 were signalized by greater aggressions on the part of the slave power and greater resistance on the part of the anti-slavery elements than in any preceding period. The aspect of this ten years' struggle varied constantly, and it was characterized by uncertainty and many vicissitudes from beginning to end; and finally, as we shall see, the conflicting passions exploded in the most gigantic civil war on record.

At first the Compromise of 1850 appeared to be successful. Fugitive slaves were arrested and reenslaved. Slavery in the District of Columbia remained unmolested. The new Territories of New Mexico and Utah were opened to slaveholders and their human chattels. True, the South complained that her interests had been sacrificed; and South Carolina held a State convention in 1851 to consider the expediency of secession; while in the same year the question of secession was made an issue in the State election in Mississippi, in which the Union candidate for Governor, United States Senator Henry Stuart Foote, was elected over Jefferson Davis, the secessionist candidate. On the other hand, the anti-slavery people of the North considered themselves humiliated and the Nation disgraced by the concessions that had been made to the slave power, and they would have unmade them without delay if such a proceeding would have been possible. But the American people generally accepted the situation, and both the Whig and Democratic parties were pledged to the execution of the Compromise of 1850.

Connected with the slavery question and as a part of the aim of some of the pro-slavery men of the South for the extension of the area of slavery in the United States were filibustering expeditions and raids against Spain's island of Cuba and against the little republics of Central America at various times during the ten years from 1851 to 1861. These expeditions always were led by lawless men and adventurers.

In 1851 General Lopez, a native Cuban, and Colonel William L. Crittenden, of Kentucky, led filibustering expeditions from the United States against Cuba to free that island from the Spanish yoke; but they were captured and put to death. These filibustering expeditions led to a diplomatic correspondence between the United States and several European powers; and Great Britain and France proposed that the United States should enter into a treaty with them to discountenance all attempts to wrest Cuba from Spain by force or violence; but in December, 1852, Edward Everett, Daniel Webster's successor as Secre-

Ten
Years'
Struggle.

Tempo-
rary
Success
of the
Compro-
misse.

Filibus-
tering
Expedi-
tions.

Raids on
Cuba and
Diplomatic
Corre-
spond-
ence.

tary of State in President Fillmore's Cabinet, plainly informed Great Britain and France that the question was an American one and not a European one, and that the United States, while disclaiming any intentions of aggression, could not with indifference see Cuba fall into the possession of any other power than Spain.

Fisheries Dispute.

In 1852 there was a dispute between the United States and Great Britain concerning the Newfoundland fisheries, and both nations sent armed vessels there; but the trouble was soon settled, and American fishermen were allowed the right to catch fish in the waters of the British possessions at a distance of three miles from the shore, in accordance with the Treaty of 1818.

Kossuth's Visit.

In 1852 Louis Kossuth, the Hungarian patriot leader, visited the United States to plead the cause of his oppressed country, and he was welcomed everywhere by the American people. The Chevalier Hulseman, the Austrian Minister at Washington, protested against Kossuth's reception by Congress.

Arctic Explorations.

The attention of the American people was directed to Arctic exploration. In 1845 Sir John Franklin, a brave English seaman and explorer, sailed on a voyage of discovery in the North Polar seas. After he had been gone five years without any tidings being received from him, and the various expeditions sent in search of him having failed to find him or his crew, Moses Hicks Grinnell, of New York, sent an expedition under Lieutenant De Haven in 1850; but this expedition also failed to find the missing navigator. In 1853 another expedition was sent by Grinnell and the United States government, under the command of Dr. Elisha Kent Kane. Sir John Franklin was not found; but a circumpolar sea was discovered, but useless for navigation; and Captain McClure, of the British navy, discovered a North-west passage from Baffin's Bay to Behring's Strait in 1852.

Perry's Expedition to Japan.

In 1852 a United States naval expedition under Commodore Matthew Calbraith Perry, a brother of Commodore Oliver Hazard Perry, the hero of Lake Erie, was sent to Japan to open commercial intercourse between that eastern empire and the United States.

Election of Pierce.

As both the Whig and Democratic parties accepted the Compromise of 1850, the Presidential election of 1852 was a remarkably quiet one. It resulted in the choice of the Democratic nominees, Franklin Pierce, of New Hampshire, for President, and William Rufus King, of Alabama, for Vice President, by an overwhelming majority over the Whig candidates, General Winfield Scott, of New York, for President, and William Alexander Graham, of North Carolina, for Vice President. John Parker Hale, of New Hampshire, an able man, who had distinguished himself in Congress as an anti-slavery man, and George Washington Julian, of Indiana, were the Presidential and Vice Presidential

candidates respectively of the Free Soil, or Free Democratic party, which was opposed to the extension of slavery into the Territories of the United States, whose comparatively small vote was only one-half of what it had been four years previously. This was the last campaign of the Whig party, which was unable to rally from General Scott's overwhelming defeat, and whose great leaders, Henry Clay, Daniel Webster and John Quincy Adams, were now in their graves. General Scott carried but four States—Vermont, Massachusetts, Kentucky and Tennessee—two Free States and two Slave States; so the result of the election was in no wise sectional.

In 1853 the northern half of Oregon Territory was erected into a new Territory called Washington, then including the present State of that name, along with the northern part of Idaho and the western portion of Montana, thus extending from the Rocky Mountains westward to the Pacific Ocean.

Franklin Pierce was inaugurated President on March 4, 1853. For a time, during the earlier part of his administration, another war between the United States and Mexico seemed inevitable. The fertile Mesilla Valley was claimed by both the Territory of New Mexico and the Mexican State of Chihuahua; and Santa Anna, who had again become President of Mexico early in 1853, caused Chihuahua to take armed possession of the disputed territory. The dispute was settled in the summer of the same year, the United States purchasing the Mesilla Valley from Mexico by the payment of ten million dollars. As this treaty was negotiated with the Mexican government by General James Gadsden, the United States Minister to Mexico, this settlement is generally called the *Gadsden Purchase*.

Washington Territory.

President
Pierce,
A. D.
1853-
1857.

Gadsden
Purchase.

Captain
Ingraham
and
Martin
Koszta.

In the summer of 1853 an event occurred in the Eastern Mediterranean which increased the respect for the American flag abroad. Martin Koszta, a Hungarian refugee, who had become a naturalized American citizen, had been seized and taken on board an Austrian vessel in the harbor of Smyrna, in Asiatic Turkey. Captain Ingraham, in command of the United States sloop-of-war *St. Louis*, then in that harbor, demanded the release of the refugee, and when his demand was not complied with he cleared his vessel for action, whereupon Koszta was promptly released and came on board the *St. Louis*. Captain Ingraham said: "I cannot fail; my cause is just." He was sustained by his government, and his bold and decisive action was applauded in America and Europe. He was a South Carolinian and served in the Confederate navy during the Great Civil War of 1861-65. The Austrian government protested against Captain Ingraham's proceeding; and the Chevalier Hulseman, the Austrian Minister at Washington, demanded reparation.

Kansas-
Nebraska
Act and
Repeal
of the
Missouri
Compro-
mise.

The agitation of the slavery question was revived suddenly, in the beginning of 1854, by a bill reported in the United States Senate by Stephen Arnold Douglas, of Illinois, an able Democratic statesman and Chairman of the Senate Committee on Territories, proposing the organization of the vast region between the Missouri river and the Rocky Mountains into two large Territories, one to be named Kansas and the other Nebraska, and leaving the people of those Territories to decide for themselves whether or not they would have slavery within their borders; as stated by the bill, the Territories being organized on "the principle established by the Compromise of 1850," namely, "that all questions relating to slavery in the Territories and in the new States to be formed therefrom are to be left to the decision of the people residing therein," or, as it was likewise called, "the principle of non-intervention by Congress with slavery in the States and Territories." Even in its original shape, the passage of this bill would, in effect, annul the Missouri Compromise; and for this reason it was opposed violently in the Free States, where the greatest excitement prevailed and where public meetings were held by men of all parties to protest against the measure. Still, in spite of anti-slavery opposition, Senator Douglas pressed his bill; and, to give free play to "the principle of non-intervention by Congress with slavery in the States and Territories," three weeks after the introduction of his bill he offered an amendment to the bill by which the Missouri Compromise, "being inconsistent with non-intervention," was "declared inoperative and void." In the face of all Northern opposition, the Kansas-Nebraska bill, with the amendment explicitly repealing the Missouri Compromise, was passed by the Senate in March, 1854, and by the House of Representatives two months later, May, 1854; thus opening up to the introduction of slavery the vast region that had been promised to freedom as compensation for the admission of Missouri as a Slave State a third of a century before, and thus again reviving the most bitter sectional feeling between the North and the South.

Kansas
and
Nebraska
Terri-
tories.

As thus organized, the new Territory of Kansas embraced the region occupied by the present State of that name and the country west of that to the Rocky Mountains, thus including a great part of the eastern portion of the present State of Colorado, the fortieth parallel of north latitude separating the Territory from the other new Territory, Nebraska, which extended from the fortieth parallel northward to the forty-ninth parallel, thus comprising all the immense domain between Kansas Territory on the south and the British possessions on the north and between the Missouri and White Earth Rivers on the east and the Rocky Mountains on the west. By the erection of these two new Territories, the Indian Territory was reduced to the limits occupied by the

later Indian and Oklahoma Territories after the organization of Oklahoma Territory in 1890.

The pro-slavery men of the Slave States now determined to make Kansas slave territory by colonizing it with emigrants from their section of the Union, while the anti-slavery men of the Free States resolved to secure the Territory to freedom by peopling it with settlers holding their views. A heavy emigration to Kansas at once set in from both the Free and the Slave States, thus taking the question of slavery or freedom in the new Territory from the hands of politicians to those of the people. Immigrants from the neighboring State of Missouri, calling themselves *Sons of the South*, but called *Border Ruffians* by the anti-slavery people, entered Kansas, not so much to settle in the new Territory as to get possession of all the best land and to control the elections whenever such would be held. Where these Slave State men located, there the Free State men, mainly New Englanders, called *Abolitionists* by the pro-slaverites, came to colonize as well as to control Kansas, so that in the future the new Territory might be prepared to enter the Union as a Free State. As these New England immigrants had left their former homes over a thousand miles distant, and had to encounter many troubles from the Missourians, besides the usual inconveniences attending settlers in a new country, an association was organized to aid them, with its headquarters in Boston. Time soon showed the necessity for such aid, as a grave crisis had arrived for Kansas and for the entire Nation. It was felt that as the issue of slavery or freedom was decided in Kansas, so it would be decided in Nebraska and in any future Territories. The issue was: "No freedom outside the Free States; no slavery outside the Slave States." This issue involved the future peace and security of the Nation.

While the slave power sought to strengthen itself by extending its area in the domestic domain of the United States, foreign territory was in quest for the same purpose, longing eyes being cast on Spain's valuable island of Cuba with that aim. The seizure of the United States steamer *Black Warrior* by the Spanish authorities in Cuba, in February, 1854, led to trouble with Spain; but the difficulty was settled amicably. As a sequel to this settlement, three United States Ministers in Europe—James Buchanan, of Pennsylvania, in Great Britain; James Murray Mason, of Virginia, in France, and Pierre Soulé, of Louisiana, in Spain—held a conference at Ostend, in Belgium, in October, 1854, when they issued the celebrated *Ostend Manifesto*, in which they made a plea for the unrighteous doctrine that *might makes right*, in these words: "If Spain, actuated by stubborn pride and a false sense of honor, should refuse to sell Cuba to the United States, and Cuba, being in her possession, should seriously endanger our internal

Immigration to
Kansas
Territory.

Grave
Crisis

Ostend
Mani-
festo.

peace, * * * then, by every law, human and divine, we shall be justified in wresting it from Spain, if we possess the power."

Exploring Expeditions.

During Pierce's administration naval expeditions were sent by the United States government to explore the North Pacific Ocean, between the Pacific shores of America and Asia. Land expeditions were sent across the continent to explore routes for railroads to the Pacific Ocean. In the summer of 1854 a treaty of commerce and friendship was negotiated with the Emperor of Japan by Commodore Matthew Calbraith Perry, on the part of the United States government. During the same year a *Reciprocity Treaty* was concluded between the United States and Great Britain, by which almost free commerce was established between the United States and the British North American provinces. At the same time the government of the Sandwich, or Hawaiian Islands, under the influence of American missionaries, was seeking annexation to the United States; but the death of the old king, in December, 1854, put an end to the negotiations. In 1854 a World's Fair was held in the Crystal Palace in New York city.

American, or Know-Nothing Party.

In 1854 a new political organization, called the *American, or Know-Nothing Party*, whose leading principle was "Americans shall govern America," sprung up very suddenly and carried some of the State elections of that year; but this party collapsed as suddenly as it had arisen, in consequence of the overshadowing importance of the slavery issue. This party was called American because of its opposition to foreigners and foreign influence in American politics. It was called Know-Nothing from the secret Know-Nothing lodges which secretly organized the party. The *Native American Party*, with the same principles, had existed ten years before.

Dismissal of British Officials.

In 1855 the United States had disputes with foreign nations. Great Britain was offended because President Pierce dismissed the British Minister at Washington and the British consuls at New York, Philadelphia and Cincinnati for violating the United States neutrality laws by enlisting men in the United States for the British army in the Crimean War.

Walker's Raid in Nicaragua.

Spain was offended because of the repeated filibustering expeditions of lawless men from the United States to seize her island of Cuba. The Central American states were offended because of the filibustering expedition under William Walker, of California, who invaded Nicaragua in the summer of 1855 and was allowed to open diplomatic relations with the United States government. Walker was driven out of Nicaragua in the spring of 1857, but he afterward returned, whereupon he was captured and shot.

The United States government did very little to suppress these aggressions against friendly neighbors, and United States naval officers

even afforded the filibusters encouragement and support. Thus Captain Hollins, with a United States war vessel, afforded aid to the filibusters by bombarding Greytown, a town of Nicaragua under British protection, in 1854. This outrageous and unprovoked attack by Captain Hollins threatened to involve the United States in trouble with Great Britain. Captain Hollins served in the Confederate navy during the Great Civil War of 1861-65.

Hollins's Attack on Greytown.

During the winter of 1855-56 the Indians of Oregon and Washington Territories, incensed at the bad conduct of government agents and speculators, made war on the white settlers, defeated the United States troops sent against them and massacred several white families. General Wood led troops against them, and the war ended in the summer of 1856.

Indian War in Oregon and Washington.

In the meantime the slavery agitation continued in all its intensity, and Kansas Territory was the scene of exciting occurrences. The first elections were carried by the pro-slavery people, as hundreds of lawless men from Missouri invaded the Territory, took possession of the polls, voted, carried the elections and then returned to their Missouri homes. Lawrence, the principal New England settlement, had only three hundred and sixty-nine legal voters; but in the election for members of the Territorial Legislature in March, 1855, seven hundred and eighty-one votes were cast for the pro-slavery candidates by a band of Missourians who had arrived the previous evening and encamped on the suburbs of the town, with arms and cannon. The elections resulted in the choice of a pro-slavery Territorial Legislature, but the anti-slavery settlers were not overwhelmed by their defeat. The Governor of the Territory—Andrew Horatio Reeder, of Pennsylvania—though appointed by President Pierce in the pro-slavery interest, sided with the anti-slavery settlers and declared himself strongly in favor of making Kansas a Free State.

The Slavery Struggle in Kansas.

In October, 1855, a Free State constitution for Kansas was framed at Topeka by the anti-slavery settlers, but with no hope of its going into operation at that time. In March, 1856, a special committee of the National House of Representatives, sent to Kansas to investigate the affairs of the Territory, reported that the elections had been carried by organized invasion; that the Territorial Legislature was constituted illegally, and that the Topeka, or Free State constitution expressed the sentiment of the majority of the people of the Territory. Thereupon the House of Representatives voted in favor of the admission of Kansas into the Union as a Free State, but the Senate refused to concur.

Congressional Report

In May, 1856, civil war broke out in Kansas between the opposing elements; and the struggle raged violently and destructively, though irregularly and intermittently, for four months, until September of the

Civil War in Kansas.

same year. On May 21st Lawrence was attacked by a body of Missourians, South Carolinans and Georgians, who sacked the printing offices and fired the Free State hotel. Other towns and villages suffered the same treatment, and a few skirmishes occurred. The Nation was alarmed by the very existence of this Territorial struggle, as it was feared that this miniature civil war might extend beyond the borders of Kansas.

**Assault
upon
Senator
Sumner.**

Meanwhile the feeling between members of Congress from the Slave States and those from the Free States was most intense, and at various times between 1850 and 1860 duels and violent encounters were threatened. Finally, late in May, 1856, the whole North was aroused by an aggravated assault upon Senator Sumner. Charles Sumner, of Massachusetts, was elected to the United States Senate in 1851 as a Free Soiler by the Legislature of his State. From the time of his entrance into the Senate he championed the principles of freedom for the Territories, often alone, sometimes with a few adherents. At the breaking out of the civil war in Kansas he delivered a speech which he entitled "The Crime against Kansas," and in which he mercilessly denounced the pro-slavery party in that Territory and its supporters, May 19-20, 1856. Two days later, May 22, 1856—the day after the attack on Lawrence, Kansas—as Mr. Sumner was sitting at his desk, after the adjournment of the Senate, he was assaulted from behind, beaten over the back and head and thrown on the floor in an insensible condition, by Preston S. Brooks, a Representative in Congress from South Carolina, who was abetted by another South Carolina Representative and a Representative from Virginia. The assailant was fined three hundred dollars by a Washington court and was censured by the House of Representatives, whereupon he resigned his seat and was re-elected by his constituents, but he died at Washington soon afterward, January 27, 1857. Senator Sumner's term soon expired, but he was re-elected for another term with little opposition, largely because of the assault upon him. He was seriously injured by the assault, and he never fully recovered from its effects.

**New
Repub-
lican
Party.**

The repeal of the Missouri Compromise and the growing determination in the Free States to prevent the extension of slavery led to the formation of a new political organization, called the *Republican Party*, whose leading principle was opposition to the extension of slavery into the Territories of the Republic. The Democratic party had become the great defender of the slave power, holding that Congress had no right to prohibit the extension of slavery. The Whig party had gone to pieces, partly on account of its overwhelming defeat in the Presidential campaign of 1852, and partly because it was afraid to take a decided stand for or against the extension of slavery. Parties were

thus completely reorganized on the new issue which the slavery question forced into American politics in spite of the efforts and the disgust of politicians. The tariff and other economic questions, which had been the issues between the Whig and Democratic parties, were cast into the shade by the overwhelming moral issue of the slavery question. The Democratic party was now composed of the pro-slavery Democrats and was joined by the pro-slavery Whigs. The old Free Soilers and the anti-slavery Whigs and Democrats constituted the new Republican party, which existed only in the Free States. It was simply the old Free Soil party with a new name and grown to immense proportions. The Liberty party of 1840 and 1844, with James Gillespie Birney as its Presidential candidate, was the first party with the same views against slavery extension.

The founders and leaders of the new Republican party were such able statesmen and United States Senators as William Henry Seward of New York, Charles Sumner and Henry Wilson of Massachusetts, Salmon Portland Chase and Benjamin Franklin Wade of Ohio and Lyman Trumbull of Illinois, and many able men in the House of Representatives; besides others out of Congress, among whom were Horace Greeley, editor and founder of the *New York Tribune*, Henry Jarvis Raymond, editor of the *New York Times*, and others. The great pulpit orator, the Rev. Henry Ward Beecher, was a great champion of the anti-slavery sentiment which his distinguished sister, Mrs. Harriet Elizabeth Beecher Stowe, had done so much to create by her famous work, *Uncle Tom's Cabin*, which appeared in the early fifties and which painted the institution of slavery in the darkest colors. Among prominent anti-slavery men in the Slave States was Cassius Marcellus Clay, of Kentucky, son of General Green Clay, of the War of 1812, and a relative of Henry Clay.

Its
Founders
and
Leaders.

The Republican party, which had its entire strength in the Free States, in its first National Convention in Philadelphia, June 17, 1856, nominated Colonel John Charles Fremont, of California—"the Pathfinder"—for President, and William Lewis Dayton, of New Jersey, for Vice President. But before this the other two parties had made their nominations, the American party first being in the field. The Democratic party, which had its chief strength in the Slave States, in its National Convention, in Cincinnati, June 5, 1856, nominated James Buchanan, of Pennsylvania, for President, and John Cabell Breckinridge, of Kentucky, for Vice President. The American, or Know-Nothing party, which was opposed to foreign influence in American affairs, in a National Convention in Philadelphia, February 22, 1856, nominated ex-President Millard Fillmore, of New York, for President, and Andrew Jackson Donelson, of Tennessee, for Vice President. The

Presiden-
tial Cam-
paign of
1856 and
Electon
of Bu-
chanan.

campaign was an exciting one; and the election resulted in the choice of Buchanan and Breckinridge, who carried all the Slave States but Maryland, with five Free States—New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Indiana, Illinois and California. Fremont and Dayton carried the other eleven Free States, namely, the six New England States, and New York, Ohio, Michigan, Wisconsin and Iowa. Fillmore and Donelson carried but one State—Maryland. Slave States that formerly had been Whig were now Democratic, and Free States that formerly had been Democratic were now Republican. The Liberty party had polled but a small vote in 1840 and 1844. The Free Soil party polled about three hundred thousand votes in 1848, but only half that many in 1852. The new Republican party, the legitimate successor and heir of the principles of these two small parties, polled over thirteen hundred thousand votes in 1856.

President
Bu-
chanan,
A. D.
1857-
1861.

James Buchanan was inaugurated on March 4, 1857, fifteenth President of the United States. He was an able statesman and had been in public life since the War of 1812, the period when Clay, Webster and Calhoun first entered public life. He was first a Federalist, and as such he had been a member of the House of Representatives for a decade. He was afterward United States Senator for several terms as a Democrat. He was Minister to Russia in 1831; Secretary of State in President Polk's Cabinet, and Minister to England under President Pierce.

Dred
Scott
Decision.

Two days after President Buchanan's inauguration, March 6, 1857, the Supreme Court of the United States rendered the famous *Dred Scott Decision*, delivered by Chief Justice Roger Brooke Taney, all the Associate Justices concurring, excepting Justices McLean and Curtis, who gave dissenting opinions. The negro Dred Scott once had been a slave in Missouri and afterwards was taken by his master into the Free States of Illinois and Minnesota. After having married on free soil and having had one child born there, he was taken back to the Slave State of Missouri with his wife and child. Some time afterward he sued for freedom for himself and his family, on the ground of having been taken by his master into a Free State. The Missouri State Circuit Court decided in his favor, but his master appealed to the State Supreme Court, which decided in the master's favor. Dred Scott then appealed to the United States Circuit Court, which also decided in the master's favor. The negro next appealed to the United States Supreme Court, which decided that it had no jurisdiction in this case, because slaves, not being citizens of the United States, could not sue in the United States Courts, and that neither negro slaves nor freed negro slaves, nor their descendants, could become citizens of the United States, the Chief Justice reciting the status of the negro under the Articles of

Confederation, the National Constitution and the State Constitutions, maintaining that our Revolutionary fathers did not include the negro when they defined the rights of mankind; that they considered him far inferior to the white man, and that the negro "had no rights which the white man was bound to respect." Along with this decision was rendered an extra-judicial opinion that the Missouri Compromise was unconstitutional, and that, under the Constitution of the United States, slaveholders have a right to take their slaves with them into the Territories of the United States and to own them there as their property. This decision aroused still further the anti-slavery sentiment in the North. The decision was sustained by the administration and the Democratic party, because it was the decision of the United States Supreme Court. The Republican party opposed the decision on the ground that it was intrinsically wrong and because it included points not properly before the Court. By this decision the Judicial Department of the National government was committed to slavery, as were the Executive and Legislative Departments already, excepting at times the House of Representatives.

Early in 1857 the Mormons in the Territory of Utah threatened to rebel against the National government, because Congress refused to admit their Territory as a State of the Union. They destroyed the records of the United States District Court in their Territory and were guilty of other revolutionary proceedings, besides looking to Brigham Young for all laws. President Buchanan appointed Colonel Cumming to the office of Governor of the Territory and sent a body of United States troops under Colonel Albert Sidney Johnston to enforce the laws of the United States and to suppress any attempt at rebellion in Utah. When the troops arrived the Mormons concluded to obey the laws, and the difficulty was settled without bloodshed. An incident of this Mormon rebellion was the famous Mountain Meadow massacre of Gentiles under the direction of the Mormon leader, John D. Lee, who was not apprehended for twenty years, when finally he was tried, convicted and shot under military forms, in 1877.

The United States had slight difficulties with foreign nations in 1857 and 1858. The United States vessel *Waterwitch* was fired upon by the troops of Paraguay, in South America, while she was ascending the Paraguay river. A United States naval expedition under Commodore Shubrick obtained satisfaction from the Paraguayan government, and the matter was settled. In the summer of 1858 the crews of British war vessels in the Gulf of Mexico engaged in the suppression of the African slave trade boarded about forty American merchantmen suspected of being slavers, but the British government itself put a stop to the actions of its crews, and all trouble passed away.

Mormon
Rebellion
in Utah.

Dispute
with
Paraguay.

British
War
Vessels.

Panic of 1857.

During the fall of 1857—twenty years after the last general financial and business panic—another disastrous financial and commercial crisis swept over the United States, causing widespread business ruin and social distress. Like the panic of 1837, that of 1857 was caused by imprudent and not strictly honest speculation. Specie payments were again suspended, and all material interests were affected very seriously.

The Kansas Struggle.

The Dred Scott Decision aroused the agitation of the slavery question in all its intensity, and the greatest excitement prevailed in the Free States. During 1857 measures were taken for the admission of Kansas into the Union as a State. A State constitution which excluded slavery from Kansas was framed at Topeka by the anti-slavery party, while the pro-slavery party framed a constitution at Lecompton tolerating slavery within the Territory. Although the people of Kansas rejected the pro-slavery constitution, in January, 1858, by over ten thousand majority, President Buchanan, in a message to Congress, recommended its acceptance by that body. Congress, however, decided that it should be left to a vote of the people of the Territory, who again rejected it by almost ten thousand majority. In a message to Congress, in 1859, alluding to the question of slavery in the Territories, President Buchanan said: "Neither Congress nor a Territorial Legislature, nor any human power, has any authority to annul or impair this vested right." Finally, on January 29, 1861, Kansas was admitted into the Union as a Free State. Two other Free States were admitted into the Union during Buchanan's administration—Minnesota, May 14, 1858, and Oregon, in February, 1859. Minnesota embraced the eastern half of the original Minnesota Territory, the western half forming the eastern part of the subsequent Dakota Territory. Oregon comprised the western half of Oregon Territory, the eastern half being annexed to Washington Territory and afterward forming the southern part of Idaho. The Territories of Dakota, Colorado and Nevada were erected March 2, 1861, two days before the close of Buchanan's administration.

Kansas a Free State.**Minnesota and Oregon.****Growth of Anti-Slavery Sentiment.****Personal Liberty Laws.**

While the President, the Supreme Court and the Senate of the United States were committed to the side of slavery, the anti-slavery sentiment was growing in the Free States, and many of these State governments had become anti-slavery. Northern public sentiment had been moved deeply by all phases of the irrepressible slavery question. The Fugitive Slave Law of 1850 was still obnoxious to the great body of the people of the Free States; and ever since the passage of the law, to guard against any abuses of the law by the kidnaping of free negroes, the Legislatures of all the New England States and of New York, Ohio, Michigan and Wisconsin passed what were called *Personal Liberty*



Chief Tall Man Dan



AMERICAN INDIANS

Chief Black Thunder

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Laws, which forbade State officers to aid in arresting or imprisoning fugitive slaves. These State laws greatly offended the people of the Slave States, who regarded their enactment as showing a lack of good faith on the part of the people of the North in carrying out the Compromise Act of 1850.

During Buchanan's administration efforts were made by a few influential individuals in the Slave States to reopen the African slave trade, and native Africans were landed on the coasts of the Southern States in defiance of the laws. In Louisiana attempts were made to legalize the trade under what was called the "African Apprentice System," and the Grand Jury of Savannah openly protested against the laws when obliged to find bills against some persons engaged in the illegal slave trade. These proceedings increased the slavery agitation and strengthened the Republican party, the great opponent of the extension of slavery into the Territories of the United States.

In May, 1858, a Southern commercial convention was held at Montgomery, the capital of Alabama, in which a committee reported in favor of reopening the African slave trade by the repeal of all laws, State and National, against the traffic; but the majority of the convention voted to lay the report on the table, as it did not then suit most slaveholders to depreciate the market value of their slave property by importing fresh slave material from Africa. Thus, in this instance slaveholding self-interest prevented the revival of a traffic in human beings which the enlightened sentiment of the civilized world and the laws of civilized nations had declared against.

In the meantime the anti-slavery sentiment of the North had received a powerful impetus by the publication and circulation of a book called *The Impending Crisis*, written by a young Southern man, Hinton Rowan Helper, of North Carolina—a book in which the evils, the debasing influences and the demoralizing effects of the institution of chattel slavery upon the Nation were depicted in the strongest colors. This book produced a sensation in the Nation in the late fifties similar to Harriet Beecher Stowe's *Uncle Tom's Cabin* in the early fifties. Helper's *Impending Crisis* was circulated very extensively in the North, but was tabooed and banned in the South, and so bitter and vindictive was the spirit which it engendered in the Slave States that Southern members of the National House of Representatives gave vent to the most vehement opposition to the candidacy of John Sherman, of Ohio, for the Speakership of the House, in December, 1859, because he had subscribed for Helper's famous book.

In the meantime Abraham Lincoln, a hitherto comparatively unknown lawyer of Springfield, Illinois, had attracted the attention of the Nation by his joint debates with Senator Douglas in a canvass of

Attempts
to Revive
the Slave
Trade.

Southern
Commer-
cial Con-
vention.

Helper's
"Im-
pending
Crisis."

Lincoln-
Douglas
Debates.

Illinois for the United States Senatorship in 1858, a canvass which resulted in the election of a Douglas Democratic Legislature. Though Mr. Lincoln was defeated in his Senatorial aspirations, his position as the competitor of the author of the repeal of the Missouri Compromise brought him prominently before the American people as a great anti-slavery leader. In his speech at his home city in June, 1858, he said prophetically: "I believe this government cannot permanently endure half slave and half free." His friends entreated him to suppress his prediction, but he refused to do so, and in later times he pronounced it one of his wisest actions. Shortly afterward—October, 1858—William Henry Seward, one of New York's United States Senators and the great leader of the Republican party, in a speech at Rochester, in his own State, made a similar prediction in these words: "It is an irrepressible conflict between opposing and enduring forces, and it means that the United States must and will, sooner or later, become either entirely a slaveholding nation or entirely a free-labor nation."

**Lincoln's
and
Seward's
Predictions.**

**John
Brown
and His
Raid in
Missouri.**

One of the leading anti-slavery men of Kansas was John Brown, a descendant of Peter Brown, one of the Pilgrim Fathers who came from England in the *Mayflower*, and a grandson of John Brown, a Revolutionary soldier. He had figured in the civil wars in Kansas Territory, and from the part he bore in the "battle of Osawatomie" he was called "Brown of Osawatomie." Early in 1858 he told his friends in New England that he intended to make raids in Slave States to liberate slaves. At the end of the same year—December, 1858—he made a raid on the borders of Missouri, in which he liberated eleven slaves by taking them to Canada, accomplishing this feat, as he said, "without the snapping of a gun on either side." Although his act was disapproved even by his neighbors in Kansas, his success in this instance encouraged him to make a similar attempt in Virginia a year later.

**His
Raid in
Virginia
and His
Execution.**

Brown had declared: "Twenty men in the Alleghenies could break slavery to pieces in two years." Accordingly, he made his foolish raid in Virginia in the fall of 1859, to liberate the slaves of that State. On Sunday night, October 16, 1859, at the head of twenty-one followers, three of them his own sons and five colored men, Brown seized the United States arsenal at Harper's Ferry, intending to arm such slaves as approached. He failed in inciting a slave insurrection, and was overpowered and made prisoner by Virginia militia, sent by Governor Henry Alexander Wise, and by United States troops, under Colonel Robert Edward Lee, sent by President Buchanan. Two of Brown's sons were killed in the fight. Brown was tried and convicted on the charges of treason, murder and inciting slaves to insurrection. Governor Wise signed the death-warrant, and Brown was hanged December 2, 1859, under the laws of Virginia. During his imprisonment he

said: "I never did intend murder, or treason, or the destruction of property, or to excite slaves to rebellion or insurrection." He insisted that his design was "to free the slaves." His act would have been condemned well-nigh universally even in the Free States a few years before, but now it was excused by many anti-slavery people, and it was even admired by some.

John Brown's raid produced intense alarm in Virginia; and Governor Wise informed President Buchanan and the Governors of Maryland, Ohio and Pennsylvania that if another invasion assailed his State he would pursue the invaders into any State and punish them wherever arms could reach them. It was believed in the Slave States that Brown was only the agent of a large party in the Free States who had formed a plot to free all the slaves. During the next session of Congress a committee, with James Murray Mason, of Virginia, the author of the Fugitive Slave Law of 1850, as chairman, was appointed in the United States Senate to investigate the matter; and Clement Laird Vallandigham, a Democratic Representative in Congress from Ohio, volunteered to prove the charge against the Northern people; but the investigation proved that Brown had no other accomplices than his twenty-one immediate followers.

Southern
Alarm
and
Congres-
sional
Investiga-
tion.

The elections of 1858 and 1859 showed a remarkable and growing strength of the Republican party; and the slave power feared that its political control of the Nation would soon end, as the Northern wing of the Democratic, or ruling party, which thus far had sided with the slavery interest, now showed signs of breaking away from that interest, under the leadership of Senator Stephen Arnold Douglas, of Illinois. The Southern leaders were then fully prepared for a rupture with their Democratic brethren in the North, which rupture came about in the Democratic National Convention in Charleston, South Carolina, in the spring of 1860, as we shall now see.

Northern
and
Southern
Democ-
racy.

The Democratic National Convention assembled in the hall of the South Carolina Institute, at Charleston, April 23, 1860. Caleb Cushing, of Massachusetts, was chairman of the Convention. He, and Benjamin Franklin Butler, also of Massachusetts, were friendly to the Southern interest; and Butler was a great personal and political friend of Jefferson Davis, of Mississippi. The Northern, or Free States wing of the party were the stronger in the Convention; and their choice for President was Senator Douglas, on a platform of the Douglas principle of "Popular Sovereignty," as enunciated in the Democratic National Convention which nominated Buchanan and Breckinridge at Cincinnati in 1856. The Southern, or Slave States wing of the party, the weaker in the Convention, wanted a platform recognizing slavery as a National institution and the right of slave-

Rupture
in the
Demo-
cratic
Na-tional
Conven-
tion
1860.

holders to carry all their property with them into the Territories. When the Convention, by a large majority, reaffirmed the Douglas doctrine of "Popular Sovereignty," the delegations from the Slave States seceded from the Convention, thus splitting the Democratic party by the wedge of slavery.

The
Southern
Democ-
racy.

The Democratic delegates from the Slave States met in convention in June, first in Richmond, Virginia, and afterward in Baltimore, where they nominated Vice President John Cabell Breckinridge, of Kentucky, for President, and Joseph Lane, of Oregon, for Vice President, on a platform asserting that neither Congress nor the Legislature or people of a Territory had a right to exclude slavery from such Territory, and that slaveholders had a constitutional right to take their slaves into any Territory of the United States as well as their other property, regardless of the wishes of the people of that Territory.

The
Northern
Democ-
racy.

The Democratic delegates from the Free States also met in convention in Baltimore in June, and nominated Senator Stephen Arnold Douglas, of Illinois, for President, and James A. Fitzpatrick, of Alabama, for Vice President, on a platform declaring that Congress had no power over slavery in the Territories, but that the people of a Territory had the right to adopt or exclude slavery, as they chose. As the nominee for Vice President declined, Herschell Vespaian Johnson, of Georgia, was substituted instead.

Constitu-
tional
Union
Party.

A new party, called the *Constitutional Union Party*, in a National Convention in Baltimore, May 10th, nominated John Bell, of Tennessee, for President, and Edward Everett, the great Massachusetts orator and statesman, for Vice President, on a platform ignoring the questions then agitating the public mind, but declaring for "the Constitution, the Union and the enforcement of the laws."

Repub-
lican
Party.

The Republicans, in their National Convention in Chicago, May 16th, nominated Abraham Lincoln, of Illinois, for President, and Hannibal Hamlin, of Maine, for Vice President, on a platform maintaining that Congress had the right to exclude slavery from the Territories.

Election
of
Lincoln.

Thus there were four candidates for the Presidency in 1860—the most exciting Presidential campaign in the Nation's history. The election resulted in favor of Lincoln and Hamlin, who carried all the Free States, excepting New Jersey, and received all but three of the Electoral votes of that State. Douglas and Johnson carried Missouri and also received three Electoral votes from New Jersey. Breckinridge and Lane carried all the Slave States, except Virginia, Kentucky and Tennessee, which were carried by Bell and Everett. Though Mr. Lincoln had a majority of the Electors, he was in minority of nearly a million of the popular vote.

Having caused the election of a Republican President by splitting the Democratic party, the Southern Democratic politicians next proceeded to carry out plans to split the Union. No sooner was the election of Mr. Lincoln known throughout the United States than the politicians of the Slave States began to carry out plans which they had long considered, for the secession of their States from the Union, and the establishment, in their section, of an independent confederacy of Slave States. The Southern leaders pleaded the right of revolution and the law of self-preservation in justification of their action, claiming that Mr. Lincoln would be a sectional President, as his entire support came from the Free States; that he was the representative of the abolitionists, who for years had demanded the abolition of slavery, which would have deprived the slaveholders of their rights and their property; and that he would interfere with the domestic institutions of their respective States. The great leaders in the secession movement were Jefferson Davis and Albert Gallatin Brown, of Mississippi; Louis T. Wigfall, of Texas; John Slidell and Judah Philip Benjamin, of Louisiana; William Lowndes Yancey, of Alabama; Howell Cobb and Robert Toombs, of Georgia; James Lawrence Orr, Robert Barnwell Rhett and William Barnwell Rhett, of South Carolina; Thomas L. Clingman, of North Carolina; James Murray Mason and Robert Mercer Taliaferro Hunter, of Virginia. The secession movement was aided by a secret organization called the *Knights of the Golden Circle*, which had existed in the South for several years. The North regarded secession as rebellion, but the South considered it a just movement for Southern independence.

As in 1832, South Carolina took the lead in the hostile attitude toward the National government. Never before the Civil War did the people of that State vote for Presidential Electors, as in other States; but the Electors of that State were chosen by its Legislature. The State Legislature met the day before the Presidential election—November 5, 1860—on which day it received a message from Governor Gist recommending the immediate call of a State convention to adopt the only alternative left to them—the secession of the Palmetto State from the Union. Speeches in the Legislature and outside of it echoed the Governor's sentiments. On the day after the Presidential election—November 7, 1860—the news of Mr. Lincoln's election was hailed with wild rejoicing in South Carolina, as it opened the way for that State and the other Slave States to secede from the Union. Five days later—November 12, 1860—the South Carolina Legislature called a State convention to meet in the middle of December.

The Georgia Legislature assembled on November 8, 1860—two days after the Presidential election. Many of its members exhibited im-

Anti-Secession Speech of Stephens in Georgia.

patience to follow the example set by South Carolina in secession from the Union; but others hesitated, and some refused. Nevertheless, a bill was adopted appropriating a million dollars to arm the State, November 13, 1860; and everything seemed to indicate secession. At this point Alexander Hamilton Stephens, an able statesman who had been for many years a Representative in Congress from Georgia, first as a Whig and afterward as a Democrat, appeared before the Legislature, and in a long anti-secession speech he warned the members against proceeding any farther. Said he: "In my judgment, the election of no man, constitutionally chosen to the Presidency, is sufficient cause for any State to separate from the Union. * * * The President can do nothing unless he is backed by power in Congress. The House of Representatives is largely in the majority against Mr. Lincoln. In the Senate he will also be powerless. * * * Why, then, I say, should we disrupt the bonds of this Union when his hands are tied? * * * Let the fanatics of the North break the Constitution if such is their fell purpose; * * * but let not the South, let not us, be the ones to commit the aggression." However, contrary to his own warning, Mr. Stephens proposed a State convention; and four days later—November 18, 1860—the Legislature passed a bill calling for such a convention.

President Buchanan's Message.

Other Slave States were preparing to follow in the footsteps of South Carolina and Georgia; and the whole Nation was in suspense over the menacing situation when Congress convened in regular session and received the last annual message of President Buchanan, December 3, 1860. As few expected relief from it, few were disappointed at its tone, as the popular impression in the North was that the President was powerless in the hands of the Southern politicians. He argued that the election which just had taken place was no adequate cause for the action of South Carolina and other Southern States. But he intimated that such action might be considered as justified by the Personal Liberty Laws of many of the Northern States, and surely could be accounted for by the popular agitation against slavery which for many years had been in progress in the Free States. As for the means to confront the forthcoming crisis, the President thought that Congress had no power to coerce a State, no authority to prevent its secession or to force it to return to the Union. But he believed that Congress could adopt some amendments of the National Constitution and recommend their adoption by the States, securing slavery in the Slave States, likewise in the Territories, and even in the Free States so far as the return of fugitive slaves was concerned. The President's message fell dead as soon as it had been delivered.

Congress at once discussed the situation. The Southern members approved of the action of their constituents, unequivocally and with

Crittenden
Compromise.

pride; while the Northern members faltered, being uncertain of the course of their constituents, either in the immediate present or in the near future; so that the Nation's fate seemed to be hanging in suspense. On December 17, 1860, after the opposing elements had been wrangling in Congress for two full weeks, John Jordan Crittenden, an able United States Senator from Kentucky, laid a joint resolution before the Senate, proposing an amendment of the National Constitution restoring the line of thirty-six degrees and thirty minutes north latitude as the boundary between the Free States and the Slave States and extending the line to the Pacific coast, and, further, securing the execution of the Fugitive Slave Law and providing that when the law could not be executed the value of the fugitive slave should be paid to the claimant from the United States treasury. This proposed measure was called the *Crittenden Compromise*.

Secession
of South
Carolina.

On the very day of the proposal of the Crittenden Compromise in the United States Senate—December 17, 1860—the South Carolina State convention assembled at Columbia, the capital of the State, but proceeded to and met at Charleston the next day. Visitors from almost every Slave State and commissioners from Alabama and Mississippi were present to urge haste, only an address from fifty-two members of the Georgia Legislature advising delay, and this address was not made public. Every one felt sure of the result. Said a member of the convention: “The secession of South Carolina is not an event of a day. It is not anything produced by Mr. Lincoln’s election or by the non-execution of the Fugitive Slave Law. It has been a matter which has been gathering head for thirty years.” Four days later—December 20, 1860—a committee reported and the convention unanimously adopted an ordinance of secession worded thus: “An ordinance to dissolve the Union between the State of South Carolina and the other States united with her under the compact entitled the Constitution of the United States of America.” In the evening of the same day Governor Gist and the State Legislature, by invitation, witnessed the signing of the ordinance by every delegate to the convention; and after all had signed the document the president of the convention proclaimed its adoption, declaring that “the State of South Carolina is now and henceforth a free and independent commonwealth.” This action of the Palmetto State occasioned the wildest rejoicing within the State and throughout the entire South.

The
Secession
Spirit
and the
National
Administration.

The same secession spirit prevailed throughout the entire South, the action of South Carolina being highly applauded and warmly sustained by her sister Slave States. This spirit was left undisturbed by the National administration, which apparently seemed less concerned about the secession of an old State than it had been about the admission

UNITED STATES OF AMERICA.

of a new one. Most of the National officeholders and clerks at Washington from the Southern States were bold and outspoken secessionists, and consequently more was said in the public offices and through the National capital in approval of South Carolina's action than was said against it. As there were several secessionists in the President's Cabinet, the administration seemed to be powerless to stem the tide of secession and the President's hands seemed to be tied. The Secretary of War—John Buchanan Floyd, of Virginia—had been transferring the arms and war material from the forts and arsenals of the Free States to those of the Slave States. The Secretary of the Treasury—Howell Cobb, of Georgia—had been trying to bankrupt the National treasury and destroy the public credit. The Secretary of the Interior—Jacob Thompson, of Mississippi—was also plotting against the Nation.

Major Anderson at Fort Sumter.

The spot where the greatest opposition was displayed against the secession movement was on the coast of the State which led in that movement, where a gallant United States military representative made a stand to protect and defend the National government's property. This army officer was Major Robert Anderson, of Kentucky, who, for two months, had been in command of a garrison of less than ninety, United States troops, including a band, at Fort Moultrie, less than four miles from Charleston. After the calling of the secession State convention he asked the War Department at Washington to be allowed to occupy Castle Pinckney, near Charleston, and Fort Sumter, on an island in the harbor, three and a half miles from the city. Lieutenant-General Winfield Scott, as commander-in-chief of the United States army, advised compliance with Major Anderson's request, but the majority of the President's Cabinet refused; whereupon the Secretary of State—Lewis Cass, of Michigan—resigned in indignation and disgust. After the adoption of the secession ordinance Major Anderson wrote to the Secretary of War suggesting Fort Sumter as a stronger position than the one he held at Fort Moultrie. As he received no reply from the War Department, he acted on his own responsibility by moving his garrison, with the women and children belonging to them, to Fort Sumter on the evening of December 26, 1860.

Effect of His Action.

Major Anderson's occupation of Fort Sumter aroused the indignation of the South Carolinians. Said one of the Charleston newspapers: "He has opened war." Said another: "His holding Fort Sumter is an invasion of South Carolina." South Carolina troops immediately took possession of Fort Moultrie and Castle Pinckney, strengthened these posts and erected batteries to reduce Fort Sumter. The seceded State also seized the National government's property there, such as the postoffice, the custom house and the revenue cutter. President

Buchanan said that South Carolina's action in the matter relieved him of the necessity of ordering Major Anderson to retire from Fort Sumter, as he at first had intended to do. The President's refusal to issue such order caused Secretary of War Floyd to resign from the Cabinet; whereupon Joseph Holt, of Kentucky—a Breckinridge Democrat in the recent Presidential campaign, but a staunch Union man—was appointed in his place. On the last day of the year 1860 the new Secretary of War sent a dispatch to Major Anderson approving his occupation of Fort Sumter as "every way admirable, alike for its humanity and patriotism, as for its soldiership." A week later the National House of Representatives passed a resolution approving Major Anderson's course. The major had taken a step towards preserving the Union.

Inspired by the action of Major Anderson and under the direction of the new Secretary of War, Buchanan's administration manifested some energy in checking the course of the secessionists of South Carolina. The new Secretary of War resolved upon sending reinforcements to the garrison of Fort Sumter; and, to avoid publicity, these reinforcements were embarked at New York upon a passenger steamer, the *Star of the West*. This steamer arrived off Charleston harbor on January 9, 1861, with its soldiers on board and with the Stars and Stripes waving from its masthead, and endeavored to pass the bar under hatches; but, its mission having been betrayed to the secessionists, the vessel was fired upon from Fort Moultrie and Morris Island and from an armed vessel in the harbor. Being under orders not to fire unless attacked, Major Anderson was unable to interfere; and, as the *Star of the West* could not return fire or pass the batteries, it was obliged to return back to sea the same day.

Immediately after her secession from the Union, South Carolina sent commissioners to Washington to negotiate with the National government for a recognition of the independence of the seceded State. After having many communications with President Buchanan and his Cabinet officials, in which they made certain requests and demands, and in which they scored the President for not having ordered Major Anderson to evacuate Fort Sumter, accusing him of violating certain promises, they finally subsided, the President having refused to honor their last communication with an answer.

On the very day of the attack on the *Star of the West* in Charleston harbor—January 9, 1861—Mississippi seceded from the Union, as did four other Slave States during the same month in the following order: Alabama, January 11, 1861; Florida, January 12, 1861; Georgia, January 19, 1861, and Louisiana, January 28, 1861; followed by the secession of Texas, February 1, 1861; thus making seven seceded

*Star
of the
West.*

*South
Carolina
Commis-
sioners.*

*Secession
of Six
Other
Slave
States.*

UNITED STATES OF AMERICA.

States. In all these States the ordinances of secession had been passed by State conventions, but in none of them were the votes of the delegates unanimous, as had been the case in South Carolina. Out of the one hundred delegates in the Alabama convention thirty-nine were cast against secession.

New
York
Demo-
cratic
State
Conven-
tion.

The day before the secession of Texas—January 31, 1861—the New York Democratic State convention assembled at Albany, other parties being represented in the convention. Said the president of the convention, Judge Parker: “We meet here as conservative men. * * * The people of this State demand the peaceful settlement of the questions that have led to disunion. They have a right to insist that there shall be conciliation, concession, compromise.” Said Governor Horatio Seymour: “We are advised that if force is to be used it must be exerted against the united South. * * * Let us see if successful coercion by the North is less revolutionary than successful secession by the South.” Such was the sentiment of conservative men throughout the country. Though condemning secession, they also condemned every measure designed to resist secession.

Confed-
erate
States of
America.

On the 4th of February, 1861, delegates from the seceded States met in a Congress at Montgomery, the capital of Alabama, and formed a Southern Confederacy, with the title of the *Confederate States of America*. The flag adopted by this Congress for the new Confederacy consisted of three bars, the upper and lower red, the middle one white, with a blue field containing a circle of seven stars, to represent the seven Confederate States, afterward increased to eleven stars when four more States seceded from the Union and joined the Confederacy. This flag—often spoken of as the “Stars and Bars”—had its colors of red, white and blue borrowed from the “Stars and Stripes,” just as the Constitution of the Confederacy was borrowed from the Constitution of the United States.

“Stars
and
Bars.”

Jefferson
Davis
and Al-
exander
Hamilton
Stephens.

On the 9th of February, 1861, the Confederate Congress elected Jefferson Davis, of Mississippi, President of the Confederacy, with Alexander Hamilton Stephens, of Georgia, as Vice President. Jefferson Davis was the son-in-law of President Zachary Taylor, under whom he served in the battle of Buena Vista, and had been Secretary of War in President Pierce’s Cabinet and United States Senator from Mississippi, and was one of the ablest statesmen of the South. Mr. Davis always had been a secessionist, being a strict disciple of Calhoun; but Mr. Stephens, as we have seen, made a stirring speech against secession in the Georgia Legislature a few months before. His acceptance of the Vice Presidency of the new Confederacy shows how utterly the Union sentiment had been extinguished in the seceded States. The Confederate Cabinet was headed by Judah Philip Benjamin, of Loui-

siana, an able man and a Jew by birth, as Secretary of State. The provisional constitution at first adopted by the Confederate Congress was succeeded by a permanent one, March 11, 1861, which provided for a Congress consisting of a Senate and a House of Representatives, elected in the same manner as the two Houses of the Congress of the United States.

The
Con-
fede-
rate
Govern-
ment.

Another fort in the South was saved from falling into the secessionists' hands by the bravery of its commandant. Lieutenant Adam J. Slemmer, at Pensacola, Florida, first occupied Fort McRae; but, fearing an attack by Florida and Alabama troops, he transferred his garrison to Fort Pickens, one of the strongest fortresses on the Gulf coast, which he gallantly held, defying the Confederate troops sent against him.

Slemmer
at Fort
Pickens.

But another military officer in the South was not so faithful to the National government, and this was the general next in command to Lieutenant-General Winfield Scott. On February 18, 1861, General David Emanuel Twiggs, United States commander in Texas, surrendered his whole force of twenty-five hundred men, and all the military posts and munitions of war in his department, to the authorities of that State. As those troops from the North could not be seduced from their allegiance to the National government, they were permitted to return to their homes.

General
Twiggs's
Surren-
der in
Texas.

Most of the property of the National government in the seceded States—forts, arsenals, mints, ships and custom houses—were seized by the secessionists, who raised armies to fight for their independence and to defend their States against invasion by United States troops. The only forts remaining in possession of the National government were Fortress Monroe, in South-eastern Virginia; the forts at Key West and the Tortugas, off the southern coast of Florida; Fort Sumter, near Charleston, South Carolina, bravely occupied by Major Robert Anderson; and Fort Pickens, near Pensacola, Florida, gallantly held by Lieutenant Adam J. Slemmer.

Seizure
of
National
Property.

As we have seen, President Buchanan at first was hampered in this emergency, as several of his Cabinet officers who were among the secessionists were doing all in their power to deprive the National government of all means to maintain its authority in the seceded States. John Buchanan Floyd, of Virginia, Secretary of War, transferred the arms from the forts and arsenals in the Free States to those in the Slave States; and Howell Cobb, of Georgia, Secretary of the Treasury, tried to injure the public credit and bankrupt the National treasury. The public offices and even the National army were full of men in sympathy with the secession movement, so that the National government was hampered greatly in resisting this alarming movement.

Seces-
sionist
Cabinet
Officers.

Secessionist Resignations.

As already observed, the venerable Lewis Cass, of Michigan, Secretary of State, resigned because of disgust at the imbecility of the administration; and Secretaries Floyd and Cobb resigned because of sympathy with the secession movement, as did also Jacob Thompson, of Mississippi, Secretary of the Interior. Most members of both Houses of Congress from the seceded States resigned their offices to take part in the secession movement, as did also most of the United States army and navy officers from the same States.

Reorganization of President Buchanan's Cabinet.

President Buchanan's Cabinet was now reorganized. Jeremiah Sullivan Black, of Pennsylvania, the former Attorney-General, became Secretary of State; Joseph Holt, of Kentucky, the former Postmaster-General, became Secretary of War; John Adams Dix, of New York, became Secretary of the Treasury; Edwin McMasters Stanton, of Pennsylvania, became Attorney-General. Holt, Dix, Stanton—though they had supported Vice President Breckinridge, the candidate of the Slave States for President—were strong Union men and did all in their power to stem the secession movement and infuse vigor into the administration. The new Secretary of the Treasury telegraphed to the lieutenant of a revenue cutter at New Orleans to arrest the captain of the cutter, who was a Disunion man, and to assume command of the cutter, and added the words: "If any one attempts to haul down the American flag, shoot him on the spot."

Concessions in Congress.

For the purpose of averting civil war Congress seemed disposed to make concessions. With the aid of Republican votes, governments tolerating slavery were arranged for the new Territories, thus placing the question at issue in Mr. Lincoln's election beyond his control. Both Houses of Congress adopted a resolution proposing an amendment of the National Constitution prohibiting Congress forever from interfering with slavery in the States in which it existed, and prominent Republicans expressed themselves as willing to bring about a repeal or modification of the Personal Liberty Laws, but without avail.

Peace Convention.

On the 4th of February, 1861, the very day on which the Southern Confederacy was formed at Montgomery, Alabama, an assemblage, known as the *Peace Convention*, met at Washington for the professed purpose of preserving peace and saving the Union. This convention was called on the recommendation of the Virginia Legislature and was presided over by ex-President John Tyler, of Virginia. Twenty-one States were represented; the States not represented being the seven seceded States and Arkansas, Michigan, Wisconsin, Minnesota, Oregon and California. The Peace Convention had no practical result and its action was not approved by Congress, because it proposed to nationalize slavery by amendments of the National Constitution, as suggested by the *Crittenden Compromise*, offered by John Jordan Critten-

den, of Kentucky, in the United States Senate. The convention was in session during almost the whole of February, adjourning *sine die* on the 27th. Ex-President Tyler afterwards went over to the secessionists.

Fort Sumter was still bravely held by Major Anderson, who sent away all the women and children near the end of January, 1861. The fort was menaced on all sides by the batteries of the South Carolinians and the Confederate troops from the other seceded States. Thousands of armed foes threatened the gallant little garrison of eighty men inside the besieged fort, to whom no succor had been sent since the *Star of the West* had been driven back. At the close of February, Major Anderson wrote to the War Department that twenty thousand men would be required to reinforce him before his provisions were exhausted.

On his journey to Montgomery—the capital of the Confederate States as well as of Alabama—the President of the Confederacy addressed enthusiastic multitudes, dwelling on their brilliant prospects. Said he: "If war must come it must be upon Northern and not upon Southern soil. * * * We will carry war where it is easy to advance, where food for the sword and torch awaits our armies in the densely-populated cities." But he said that he did not believe the North would fight, while he was sure that all the slaveholding states would join the Confederacy and that their independence would be recognized by Great Britain and France. In his inaugural address he admitted the probability of war, saying: "We have entered upon a career of independence, and it must be inflexibly pursued through many years of controversy with our late associates of the Northern States."

On March 21, 1861, after returning from Montgomery, Vice President Stephens addressed a large multitude at Savannah, speaking thus of the new Confederate government: "Its foundations are laid; its corner-stone rests upon the great truth that the negro is not equal to the white man; that slavery is his natural and normal condition. Thus our new government is the first in the history of the world based upon this great physical, philosophical and moral truth. * * * May we not look with confidence to the ultimate universal acknowledgment of the truths upon which our system rests?"

While the President of the so-called Confederate States of America was on his journey to Montgomery the President-elect of the United States was on his way to Washington. Before leaving his home at Springfield, Illinois, Mr. Lincoln made a very affecting speech to his neighbors, saying that he was assuming a burden greater than had been borne by any man before him except Washington and that he must rely upon Divine guidance. As he was traveling on his journey he spoke of the perilous situation, sometimes gayly, but more frequently

Siege
of Fort
Sumter.

Jefferson
Davis's
Remarks.

Mr. Ste-
phens's
Remark
at Sa-
vannah.

Lincoln's
Journey
to Wash-
ington.

gravely, insisting that "nobody is suffering anything" and that "the people on both sides must keep their self-possession."

**His
Remarks
at Inde-
pendence
Hall.**

As the President-elect raised the Stars and Stripes over Independence Hall, in Philadelphia, on Washington's Birthday, 1861, he said: "I have often inquired of myself what great principle or idea it was that kept this confederacy so long together. It was not the mere matter of the separation of the colonies from the Mother Country, but that sentiment in the Declaration of Independence which gave liberty not alone to the people of this country, but I hope to the world for all future time. * * * If this country cannot be saved without giving up that principle I was about to say that I would rather be assassinated on this spot than surrender it."

**Precau-
tions
against
Assassina-
tion.**

It was feared that President-elect Lincoln would be assassinated in Baltimore, on his way to Washington to be inaugurated; but the President-elect took an earlier train than the one he had been expected to take, thus making the journey by night, and he arrived at the National capital unmolested. Fears were entertained that the new President could not be inaugurated without bloodshed. Washington swarmed with secessionists and was surrounded by a population in sympathy with secession. But the public peace was preserved by means of the military collected by the timely precaution of Lieutenant-General Winfield Scott, and the new administration was inaugurated peacefully.

**President
Lincoln,
A. D.
1861-
1865.**

On the 4th of March, 1861, Abraham Lincoln was inaugurated sixteenth President of the United States. While he was delivering his inaugural address his hat was held by his old Democratic competitor, Senator Douglas, leader of the Northern Democracy, who promised the new President his warmest support in upholding the Union. In his inaugural Mr. Lincoln declared that he had neither the right nor the inclination to interfere with the institution of slavery in any State, that no State could secede from the Union, that ordinances of secession were void and that he would faithfully execute the laws of the Union in all the States; the most striking passage in the address being the following:

**Passage
from
His In-
augural
Address.**

"We find the proposition that in legal contemplation the Union is perpetual, confirmed by the history of the Union itself. The Union is much older than the Constitution. It was formed, in fact, by the Articles of Association in 1774. It was matured and continued in the Declaration of Independence in 1776. It was further matured, and the faith of all the then thirteen States expressly plighted and engaged that it should be perpetual, by the Articles of Confederation in 1777; and finally in 1787 one of the declared objects for ordaining and establishing the Constitution was to form a more perfect union. But if the destruction of the Union, by one or by a part only of the States, be



LINCOLN AND HIS CABINET
From the Painting by F. B. Carpenter



lawfully possible the Union is less than before. * * * I therefore consider that, in view of the Constitution and the laws, the Union is unbroken; and, to the extent of my ability, I shall take care, as the Constitution itself expressly enjoins upon me, that the laws of the Union shall be faithfully executed in all the States. * * * In your hands, my dissatisfied fellow-countrymen, and not in mine, is the momentous issue of civil war. The government will not assail you. * * * We are not enemies, but friends. We must not be enemies."

The new President appointed an able Cabinet, with such distinguished statesmen and Republican leaders as William Henry Seward, of New York, for Secretary of State; Salmon Portland Chase, of Ohio, for Secretary of the Treasury, and Simon Cameron, of Pennsylvania, for Secretary of War. President Lincoln was confronted with difficulties greater than any that ever before beset any Chief Magistrate of the Nation. The National Treasury was embarrassed. The little army of the United States—sixteen thousand men—was on the remote Western frontiers to check the Indians, and the little navy was in distant seas.

President
Lincoln
and His
Cabinet.

A week after the accession of the new administration two commissioners from the so-called Confederate States of America informed Secretary of State Seward that they were instructed by their government to make overtures for opening negotiations with the United States government. To their letter the Secretary of State replied in a memorandum in which the main point was that he "cannot act upon the assumption, or in any way admit, that the so-called Confederate States constitute a foreign power with whom diplomatic relations ought to be established," March 15, 1861.

Confed-
erate
Attempt
at Negoti-
ation.

The day after his inauguration President Lincoln and his Cabinet considered the question of furnishing relief to the brave little garrison under Major Anderson at Fort Sumter. General Scott concurred in the major's opinion that twenty thousand men were needed to relieve the garrison, and he stated that the National government had no such force at its control and that it could have none in time to relieve the garrison. The President appeared to have acquiesced for the time, but afterwards he declared that by giving up Fort Sumter was "our national destruction commenced." He sent an officer directly to Major Anderson, who said that he could hold out till the 15th of April. On receiving this assurance, the President resolved to relieve the gallant major. A few days afterward—April 4, 1861—a written order was given, and a message was sent to inform Governor Pickens, of South Carolina, that if provisions were allowed to reach the fort no United States troops would be sent. Several vessels, with both troops and provisions on board, sailed from New York and from Norfolk, Virginia, within the

Relief
of Fort
Sumter.

next few days, not knowing whether they were bringing peace or war; but when they arrived they found war before them, as we shall now see.

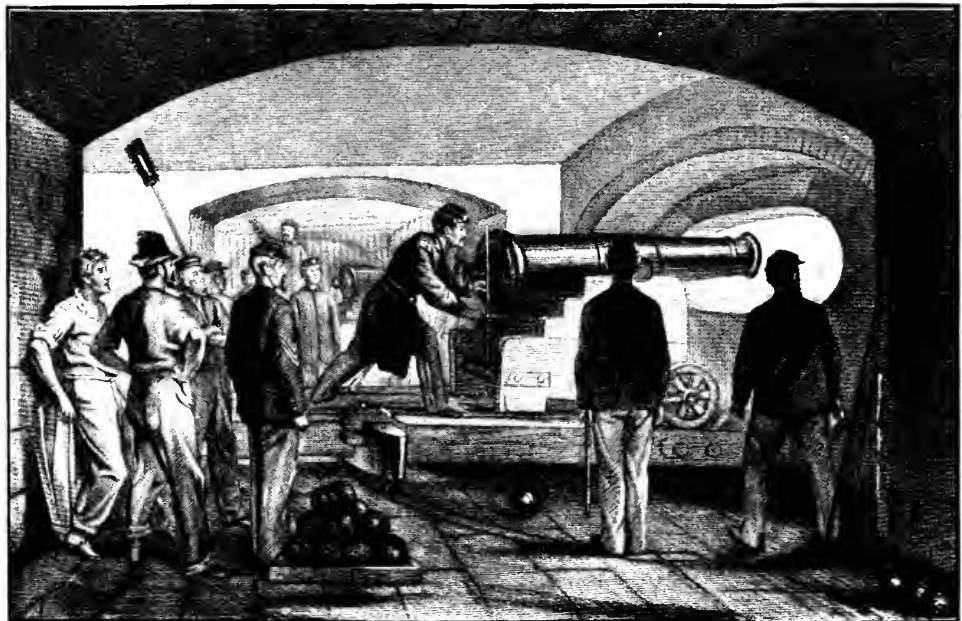
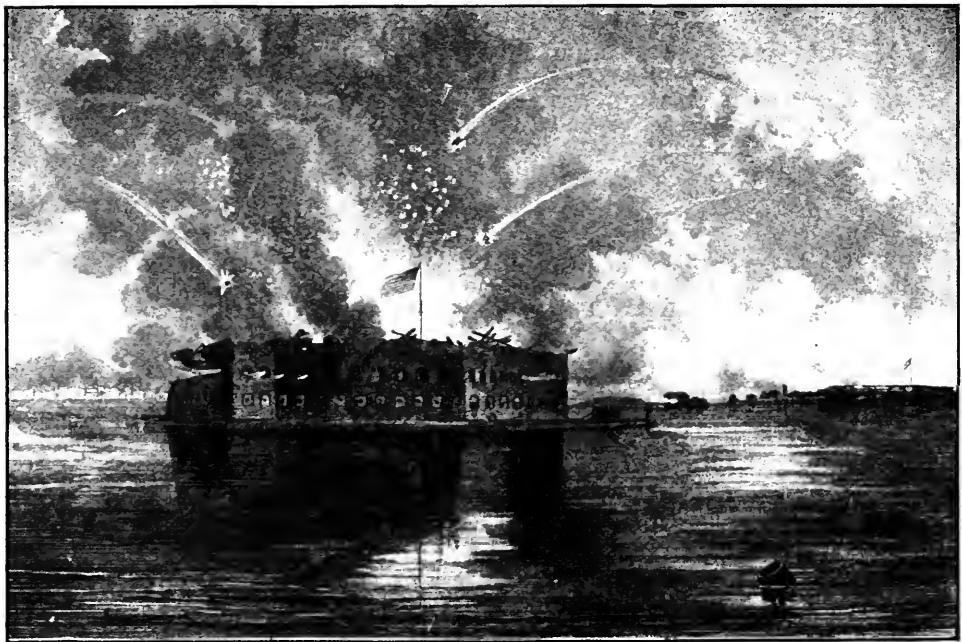
SECTION VIII.—THE CIVIL WAR (A. D. 1861–1865).

Bombardment of Fort Sumter.

THE Confederate government at Montgomery had organized an army, officered largely by men who just had resigned their positions in the United States army. One of these officers, Pierre Gustave Toussaint Beauregard, of Louisiana, was commissioned brigadier-general and was in command of several thousand Confederate troops at Charleston, South Carolina. Learning that the National government intended to send supplies to Fort Sumter, the Confederate authorities ordered General Beauregard to reduce the fort at once. Said an Alabamian to Jefferson Davis: “Unless you sprinkle blood in the face of the people of Alabama they’ll be back into the old Union in less than ten days.” Accordingly, Beauregard demanded the surrender of the fort from Major Anderson. As Anderson refused compliance, Beauregard renewed his demand, threatening a bombardment in case of another refusal. Anderson still refused to surrender, whereupon Beauregard opened a heavy bombardment on the fort at half past four o’clock in the morning of April 12, 1861; and for thirty-three hours one hundred and twenty cannon poured their iron hail upon the fort. Anderson did not return the fire until seven o’clock in the morning and closed the port-holes of the fort at dark, renewing the fire early the next morning, April 13, 1861; but, although he husbanded his strength, it was worn down, not only at the guns, but amidst the flames which broke out repeatedly in the fort. On the second day (April 13th) the men of the gallant little garrison breathed only by covering their faces with wet cloths, and they were obliged to throw over the powder which they had taken from the magazine in order to save themselves from utter destruction, while only three cartridges were left, and no more could be made because of the fiery shower rained incessantly upon the fort. The vessels which had been sent to the relief of the brave little garrison had been seen off the harbor at noon on the first day of the bombardment, but the only relief they could bring was the fact of their proximity, and the garrison continued its heroic defense.

Major Anderson's Evacuation of the Fort.

As the heavy bombardment had destroyed the officers’ quarters and the barracks, and as the provisions and the ammunition of the garrison were nearly exhausted, a voluntary flag of truce came from the garrison at half past one o’clock in the afternoon of the second day of the bombardment (April 13th); and a number of messages passed between Major Anderson and General Beauregard. Anderson refused to sur-



FORT SUMTER

Upper: The Bombardment

Lower: Firing the First Gun from the Fort



render, but agreed to evacuate the fort, he and the garrison to be allowed to sail away with the private property and with the flag which had waved above the fort, he also to have the privilege of firing a salute in honor of the flag as it was being lowered from the fort. Beauregard finally consented to these terms, and they were carried into effect the next day—Sunday, April 14, 1861—when Major Anderson saluted and lowered his flag and embarked with the garrison on a Charleston steamer, which conveyed them to the United States steamer *Baltic*, off Charleston harbor, while *Te Deums* were sung by the Charleston church choirs and sermons of victory were preached in the pulpits of the city's churches on that memorable Sunday. The rejoicings of the South Carolinians had commenced the previous night, when Governor Pickens had bidden them to exult because the flag which had triumphed for seventy years had been “humbled before the glorious little State of South Carolina.” The abandoned fort was immediately taken possession of and garrisoned by the assailants. Notwithstanding the severity of the bombardment and the cannonade on both sides, not a soldier on either side was killed by the enemy's balls, but one United States soldier was killed and several were wounded by the accidental explosion of a cannon as the garrison was evacuating the fort.

The news of the fall of Fort Sumter aroused the most intense military enthusiasm in the Confederate States and thoroughly fired the Southern heart; while it spread like lightning through the Northern States, and, like the attendant thunder peal, it aroused every Northern heart. It was fully recognized in both sections that the issue of civil war was forced upon the country, and both sides prepared for the conflict, though each at first vastly underestimated the other's strength and earnestness. Thus commenced the greatest civil war in the world's history—a struggle in which Americans fought against Americans. Most of the leading commanders of both armies had fought side by side under Taylor and Scott in Mexico. The Northern people still considered both sections as one country and regarded secession as rebellion and those engaged in it as rebels. The Confederates considered the two sections as now constituting two separate countries and regarded themselves as fighting for Southern independence and not as engaged in rebellion against constituted authority.

On the day after the evacuation of Fort Sumter, April 15, 1861, President Lincoln called for seventy-five thousand volunteers to serve for three months in restoring the National authority, and summoned Congress to meet on July 4th. The people of the Northern States warmly responded to the President's call. Within two weeks two hundred thousand men had offered their services to the National government, and forty million dollars had been contributed to carry on the

Effects
of the
Fall of
Fort
Sumter.

President
Lincoln's
First
Call for
Volun-
teers.

war. Party spirit for the time was forgotten in the Free States, and the sentiment in that section of the Union was well-nigh unanimous in support of the National government and for the maintenance of the Union, conservative and radical for the time speaking in the same strain, there being no division of sentiment for the time being. While the militia were on their way to the National capital or to the tented field, other men contributed money, labored and served as efficiently as if under arms. Women aided in making up supplies, and children brought their offerings. The Stars and Stripes were raised on all public buildings and on many private dwellings. National badges were generally worn, and National patriotic songs were widely sung. War meetings were held everywhere, at which patriotic speeches were made, speakers and listeners uniting in vowing fidelity to the Union.

The South's Uprising. The South's uprising was fully as fervid as that of the North. President Lincoln's call for seventy-five thousand volunteers was received with derisive laughter at the seat of the Confederate government and with defiance from every quarter of the seceded States and from almost every quarter of the Slave States which had not seceded. At Richmond, Virginia, a salute of one hundred guns was fired in honor of the fall of Fort Sumter.

Letters-of-marque and the Blockade. Two days after President Lincoln's call for seventy-five thousand volunteers, April 17, 1861, Jefferson Davis, President of the Confederate States, issued letters-of-marque and reprisal to all who would prey upon American commerce. Two days afterward, April 19, 1861, President Lincoln proclaimed the blockade of the Southern ports.

Confederate Designs on Washington. The Confederates made great exertions to seize the National capital, as the first and most important part of their plan. Thousands of Confederate troops from all the Slave States, armed with weapons taken from the National government, were hurrying into Virginia for that purpose. Jefferson Davis said: "We are now determined to maintain our position and make all who oppose us smell Southern powder and feel Southern steel." Alexander Hamilton Stephens hurried from Georgia, through the Carolinas, into Virginia, with the cry of "On to Washington!" Leroy Pope Walker, the Confederate Secretary of War, said: "I will prophesy that the flag which now flaunts the breeze here will float over the dome of the Capitol at Washington before the first of May. Let them try Southern chivalry and test the extent of Southern resources, and it may float eventually over Faneuil Hall in Boston." The most intense desire existed among the Confederate leaders to seize Washington; and the people of the cotton States soon realized the prediction of Governor Pickens, of South Carolina, who said: "You may plant your seed in peace, for Old Virginia will have to bear the brunt of battle."

Secession
of
Virginia.

Old Virginia did bear the brunt of battle. That State held a convention which adopted an ordinance of secession, April 17, 1861; and ex-President John Tyler headed a committee which concluded a treaty with Alexander Hamilton Stephens, placing Virginia under the absolute military control of the Southern Confederacy. Governor Letcher proclaimed the independence of Virginia and recognized the Confederacy, of which his State was now a part. It was regarded as a great triumph that Old Virginia, with all her associations and all her resources, should become a member of the Confederacy and that her capital finally should become the capital of the Confederate States. Virginia troops seized the United States arsenal at Harper's Ferry, April 18th, and the United States navy-yard at Norfolk, April 21st, the United States troops having evacuated those posts after destroying all the public property they could, to prevent its falling into Confederate hands, but the Confederates obtained possession of about two thousand cannon. The only forts in the Southern States still remaining in possession of the National government were Fortress Monroe, in Virginia, and three forts in Florida—Fort Pickens at Pensacola, Fort Taylor at Key West and Fort Jefferson in the Tortugas.

Seizure of
Harper's
Ferry.

Virginia officers in the United States army resigned their commissions and entered the Confederate service. Among these were Robert Edward Lee, Thomas Jonathan Jackson, Joseph Eccleston Johnston, James Longstreet, Ambrose Powell Hill, Daniel Harvey Hill, Richard Stoddard Ewell, Jubal Early, James Ewell Brown Stuart and others. Robert Edward Lee was the son of Colonel Henry Lee, the famous American Revolutionary cavalry officer, who delivered the funeral oration on General George Washington. Robert Edward Lee possessed the Arlington estate on the Potomac, opposite the National capital, through his wife, the daughter of George Washington Parke Custis, and, therefore, the great-granddaughter of Mrs. Martha Washington, the wife of the Father of his Country. The Washingtons during the Civil War—descendants of the brothers and relatives of the first President of the United States—were on the Confederate side; and many of them fought in the Confederate army, just as their ancestors during the Great Civil War in England several centuries ago fought on the side of the king against Parliament. John Augustine Washington, a grandson of a brother of the American Revolutionary commander-in-chief, was killed in a skirmish with Union troops in the summer of 1861. Several grandsons of Patrick Henry also fought in the Confederate army.

Virginia
Confed-
erate
Leaders.

Lee and
Wash-
ington
Families.

While the troops from the Slave States were hurrying forward to seize the National capital, volunteers were flocking from the Free States to defend it. The secessionists of Maryland were active, and

Sixth Massachusetts Regiment Mobbed in Baltimore.

mobs in Baltimore tried to prevent Northern volunteers from reaching Washington. They slightly assailed a few unarmed companies of Pennsylvania troops, which were the first to arrive at Washington, April 18th. The next day, April 19, 1861—the eighty-sixth anniversary of the first bloodshed in the American Revolution, at Lexington and Concord, Massachusetts—the Sixth Massachusetts regiment, while passing through Baltimore on its way to Washington, was attacked by a mob of ten thousand men, encouraged by the Chief of Police and well-known citizens. Three of the troops were killed and others were wounded. Nine of the mob were killed and many were wounded. The mob then attacked a body of unarmed Pennsylvania troops and compelled them to return to Philadelphia.

Washington in Danger.

The Northern people were terribly exasperated at the Baltimore mobs, and the Maryland metropolis narrowly escaped destruction. Demands were made to "lay the city in ashes" and "to turn upon it the guns of Fort McHenry." The Union volunteers arrived in Washington just in time to prevent its seizure by the Virginia troops from Harper's Ferry and by other troops pressing forward from other Slave States. The capital was still in danger. For about a week all communication was cut off between Washington and the Free States. The President and his Cabinet and Lieutenant-General Scott were virtual prisoners in the capital for several days, and were relieved just in time to prevent their capture by the Confederates, by the energy of the old veteran General John Ellis Wool, of New York, and the Union Defense Committee of New York City in forwarding troops and supplies.

General Butler's Prompt Action at Baltimore.

The well-known Seventh Regiment of New York and some Massachusetts troops under General Benjamin Franklin Butler embarked at Havre de Grace, Maryland, and sailed down the Chesapeake bay to Annapolis and seized the Annapolis and the Baltimore and Ohio railroads. Butler, with a thousand troops, then marched through Baltimore on May 13th, under cover of intense darkness and a thunder-storm, and quietly seized Federal Hill, commanding the city. The citizens were first made aware of his presence by his proclamation published in the newspapers the next morning. By this move Butler throttled secession in Maryland, whose Governor, Thomas Holliday Hicks, was a Union man. National troops then quietly passed through Baltimore to Washington, and by the middle of May the National capital was safe.

President Lincoln's Second Call for Troops.

On the 3d of May, 1861, President Lincoln called for sixty-four thousand more men for the National army and eighteen thousand men for the navy. The aged veteran, Lieutenant-General Winfield Scott, the hero of Lundy's Lane and Mexico, was general-in-chief of the National forces, and massed troops at Washington, on the Upper Potomac

and at Fortress Monroe, to defend the National capital and the line of the Potomac and to invade Virginia from that quarter.

In May, 1861, Arkansas, Tennessee and North Carolina seceded from the Union and joined the Southern Confederacy, which now consisted of eleven States. Only four Slave States still remained in the Union—Delaware, Maryland, Kentucky and Missouri. Delaware and Maryland promptly decided in favor of the Union. Kentucky at first declared herself neutral, but finally took a firm stand in favor of the Union. Missouri was saved to the Union by the vigilance of Captain Nathaniel Lyon, who commanded the United States arsenal at St. Louis. The border Slave States which remained in the Union—Maryland, Kentucky and Missouri—had soldiers in both the Union and the Confederate armies. John Cabell Breckinridge, of Kentucky, and John Bell, of Tennessee, late candidates for President, went into the secession movement. Stephen Arnold Douglas, of Illinois, the Northern Democratic candidate, warmly sustained President Lincoln in prosecuting the war for the Union, but died at Chicago, June 3, 1861.

The Governors of all but two of the Slave States at the beginning of the Civil War were secessionists. These were Burton of Delaware, Letcher of Virginia, Magoffin of Kentucky, Jackson of Missouri, Ellis of North Carolina, Pickens of South Carolina, Brown of Georgia, Perry of Florida, Moore of Alabama, Pettis of Mississippi, Moore of Louisiana, Rector of Arkansas and Harris of Tennessee. The two Unionist Governors were Hicks of Maryland and Houston of Texas. Hicks remained a Union man until his death; but Houston, the liberator of Texas from Mexican rule and the first President of the independent Republic of Texas, became a secessionist in the course of a few months.

From the beginning of the struggle a question arose as to the character of the conflict. If the National government could treat it as a rebellion pure and simple, not as a war, the secessionists would be likely to be considered by foreign nations as rebels without the rights accorded to belligerents by international law. But President Lincoln allowed them belligerent rights without intending it when he proclaimed the blockade of the Southern ports, as, under international law, a government is considered as empowered to close its own ports, but to blockade only the ports of a foreign enemy in time of war. Foreign powers therefore considered the President's proclamation of the blockade of the Southern ports as practically involving the recognition of the belligerency of the Confederate States on the part of the United States government and as justifying other nations in likewise recognizing such belligerency. Great Britain soon took advantage of the President's unintended action by recognizing the Confederates as belligerents; the queen's proclamation of neutrality giving them the same

Secession
of Three
More
Slave
States.

Loyalty
of the
Border
Slave
States.

Seces-
sionist
Govern-
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Two
Loyal
Southern
Govern-
ors.

The
Belli-
gerency
Question

belligerent rights as the National side in the struggle, May 13, 1861, without waiting for the arrival of the newly-appointed United States Minister to Great Britain—Charles Francis Adams—though it was known that he was on his way to London. France soon followed the example of Great Britain by also recognizing Confederate belligerency, June 11, 1861. The Emperor Napoleon III. was even ready to recognize the Confederate States as an independent nation, but Great Britain refused to join him in such decided action. Spain also recognized the Confederates as belligerents. Russia was the only European power that sympathized with the National government.

Extreme Measures. Almost from the very beginning the pressure of the war became severe very unexpectedly. Large numbers of vessels were taken to transport volunteers and to enforce the blockade of the Southern ports, and plans were prepared quickly for the creation of a new navy. Large quantities of arms, munitions, clothing and stores were ordered, and unprecedented demands were made upon the resources of the Nation. But greater sacrifices were considered necessary, and the National government invaded some of the most precious rights of American citizens. At one and the same moment, in all the leading cities in the loyal States, the telegraphic messages received at the different offices during the previous year were seized by United States marshals, April 20, 1861, in order to alarm such as had been accomplices in secession, if not actually to punish them. A week later—April 27, 1861—President Lincoln authorized General Scott to suspend the privilege of the writ of habeas corpus on the military line between Philadelphia and Washington.

Suspension of Habeas Corpus and Action of Chief Justice Taney. Under this suspension of the writ of habeas corpus, the commandant of Fort McHenry, near Baltimore, refused to obey a writ directing him to produce the person of a Maryland militia-man, May 14, 1861. General Cadwallader, commanding the Maryland department, resorted to still more resolute action, refusing to obey the writ of Chief Justice Roger Brooke Taney, of the United States Supreme Court, in favor of John Merryman, a member of the Maryland Legislature. When the Chief Justice issued a second writ, directing the United States marshal to arrest the general for contempt of court, the marshal was not permitted to enter Fort McHenry, May 25, 1861. These were the first instances in a policy which many loyal men regretted. The National Constitution provides that the privilege of the writ of habeas corpus may be suspended in case of rebellion or invasion, but it does not state by whom it may be suspended. The President continued to exercise this questionable power, and ultimately Congress sustained him.

The first invasion of the Confederate States by the National forces occurred on May 24, 1861, when National troops crossed the Potomac

river from Washington and took possession of Alexandria and Arlington Heights, on the opposite side of the river. This move was made to forestall the contemplated move of the Confederates under Colonel Robert Edward Lee to seize Arlington Heights, which, being directly opposite Washington, commanded the National capital, thus rendering its possession desirable by the National forces.

Occupation of Alexandria and Arlington Heights.

A part of the New York Fire Zouaves were the first to enter Alexandria; and their gallant young commander, Colonel Ephraim Elmer Ellsworth, took a Confederate flag from the top of the Marshall House; but, as he was descending the stairs, he was shot dead by Jackson, the proprietor of the house. Jackson was immediately killed by one of Ellsworth's troops. The death of Colonel Ellsworth was deeply lamented throughout the North, and the most impressive funeral obsequies were held over his body. A regiment called the *Ellsworth Avengers* was raised in the State of New York.

Death of Colonel Ellsworth.

The National troops fortified Arlington Heights, upon which Fort Corcoran was built by the Sixty-ninth New York regiment and named in honor of its commander, Colonel Corcoran, while Fort Runyon was built at the Long Bridge by New Jersey troops. A few days later a National flotilla under Captain Ward, after encountering a Confederate battery at Sewell's Point, near Norfolk, Virginia, moved up the Chesapeake and the Potomac, and had an unsuccessful engagement with Confederate batteries at Aquia Creek, sixty miles below Washington, May 31 and June 1, 1861. Captain Ward was repulsed and killed in an attack on Confederate batteries at Matthias Point, farther down the Potomac, June 27th. There the Confederate batteries defied National vessels and effectually blocked the Potomac for many months. A skirmish occurred between Ohio troops under Colonel Alexander McDowell McCook and South Carolina troops under Colonel Maxey Gregg, at Vienna, on the Alexandria and Leesburg Railway, a few miles from Washington, June 17, 1861, the anniversary of Bunker Hill.

Fortification of Arlington Heights.

Engagements along the Potomac.

In South-eastern Virginia, General Benjamin Franklin Butler took command of the National troops at Fortress Monroe, which the Confederates under Colonel Magruder intended to seize. Some of Butler's troops went up the James river several miles and fortified Newport News. Butler suggested that slaves who had escaped from secessionist owners be regarded as contraband of war, for which reason fugitive slaves during the war were called *contrabands*. Some of Butler's troops under General Pearce were repulsed in an attack upon the Confederate works at Big Bethel, with the loss of about fifty men, June 10, 1861; Major Theodore Winthrop, of Massachusetts, and Lieutenant John T. Greble being among the killed.

General Butler and the "Contrabands."

Battle of Big Bethel

Union
Invasion
of the
Shenandoah
Valley.

The Confederate force under General Joseph Eccleston Johnston, twelve thousand strong, evacuated Harper's Ferry, June 15, 1861, and retreated up the Shenandoah Valley to Winchester. The next day General Robert Patterson, with nine thousand Pennsylvania troops, crossed the Potomac into Virginia, at Williamsport, Maryland, but recrossed into Maryland. On July 2d he again crossed the river into Virginia, at the head of eleven thousand troops and occupied Martinsburg, in the Shenandoah Valley, thus securing control of the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad. His advance under General Abercrombie defeated a Confederate detachment under General Thomas Jonathan Jackson, afterward the famous "Stonewall" Jackson, at Falling Waters.

National
and Con-
federate
Troops.

At the beginning of July there were about three hundred thousand National troops in the field, confronting the Confederate forces at various points on a line extending from the Potomac westward beyond the Mississippi. More than one hundred thousand Confederate troops were stationed at various points in Virginia from Winchester to Norfolk. Their chief force was under the command of General Beauregard, at Manassas Junction, about thirty miles from the National capital, in which region it was evident that the first great shock of arms would be felt.

Action of
Congress.

Agreeably to President Lincoln's call of April 15th, the National Congress assembled on July 4, 1861. Twenty-three States were represented in the Senate, twenty-two in the House of Representatives. The President's message recommended "the legal means for making this contest a short and decisive one, * * * at least four hundred thousand men and four hundred million dollars." The message stated: "This is essentially a people's contest. On the side of the Union it is a struggle for maintaining that form and substance of government whose leading object is to elevate the condition of men. * * * It is worthy of note that, while large numbers of those in the army and navy favored with offices have resigned, not one common soldier or common sailor is known to have deserted his flag. * * * Our popular government has often been called an experiment. Two points in it our people have already settled—the successful establishing and the successful administering of it. One still remains—its successful maintenance against a formidable internal attempt to overthrow it. * * * And having thus chosen our course, without guile and with pure purpose, let us renew our trust in God and go forward without fear and with manly hearts." Congress authorized the President to raise five hundred thousand volunteers and to contract a loan of two hundred and fifty million dollars and also passed a bill providing that slaveholders forfeited all claim to such slaves as were employed in aiding insurrection or resisting the laws of the United States.

There was a great demand in the North that an advance be made on Richmond, Virginia, which in the meantime had become the Confederate capital; and the *New York Tribune* raised the cry of "On to Richmond!" Accordingly, about the middle of July, General Irwin McDowell, with thirty-five thousand National troops, marched from Arlington Heights to attack the main body of the Confederates under General Beauregard at Manassas Junction. McDowell occupied Fairfax Court House and Centreville, the Confederates falling back on his approach. General Tyler's division of McDowell's army was repulsed in a severe fight at Blackburn's Ford, on Bull Run, near Centreville, on the 18th, each side losing about sixty men.

Three days afterward—at two o'clock on Sunday morning, July 21, 1861—McDowell's army resumed its advance, moving in three divisions, commanded respectively by Generals Tyler, Hunter and Heintzelman; and on the same day was fought the first battle of Bull Run, near Manassas Junction. In this sanguinary and memorable battle Beauregard had about thirty thousand men. General Patterson, commanding the Pennsylvania troops at Martinsburg, in the Shenandoah Valley, had been ordered by the National authorities to menace the Confederate army under General Joseph Eccleston Johnston at Winchester, so as to prevent Johnston from reinforcing Beauregard; while the Confederate government had ordered Johnston to immediately reinforce Beauregard, who was now obliged to act on the defensive.

The battle was begun at eleven o'clock in the forenoon, when the Union division under General David Hunter, who had crossed at Sudley Spring, attacked the Confederates. Soon the cannonade extended to Blackburn's Ford, about five miles down the stream. The main fight was between Tyler's division and the Confederates, near the Stone Bridge, over Bull Run, on the Warrenton road, about two miles south of Sudley Spring. As the Union army was turning the Confederate left about noon, the Confederate General Bee exclaimed: "They're beating us back!" Said General Thomas Jonathan Jackson, who held a ridge toward which the Union troops were advancing: "We'll give them the bayonet." Bee cried out to his disordered line: "Form, form, there's Jackson standing like a stone wall." Jackson was ever afterward called "Stonewall" Jackson, and his brigade was called the "Stonewall Brigade." After four hours' dreadful fighting, the Confederates were about to lose the field and flee in disorder, when at three o'clock in the afternoon Beauregard was reinforced by General Joseph Eccleston Johnston with six thousand fresh troops from the Shenandoah Valley, thus turning the tide of battle. Johnston had eluded Patterson, who awaited information from General Scott, which he failed to receive.

General
Mc-
Dowell's
Advance
on Rich-
mond.

First
Battle of
Bull Run

Progress
of the
Battle.

"Stone-
wall"
Jackson.

**Disas-
trous
Union
Defeat.**

**Confed-
erate
Rejoic-
ings.**

**Dismay
in the
North.**

**General
Mc-
Clellan.**

**Union
Recovery
of Lost
Ground.**

**Continual
Skirmish-
ing.**

**Battles
along the
Potomac.**

The result was a complete Confederate victory; and the National army, suddenly seized by a panic, fled toward Washington in the greatest consternation, with the loss of about three thousand men in killed, wounded and prisoners, besides twenty-seven cannon and a large amount of small arms, ammunition, tents and supplies, either captured or abandoned in the retreat. The Confederates lost about two thousand men and were in no condition to pursue their demoralized enemy. This great Confederate victory caused unbounded rejoicings throughout the South; and many Confederate soldiers in the battle, believing the war over, returned home. Said General Joseph Eccleston Johnston: "Our troops believed the war ended and left the army in crowds to return to their homes." The Confederates made little use of the victory of which they boasted so loudly. Jefferson Davis was present at the battle and dispatched an exultant telegram to the Confederate officials at Richmond.

The intelligence of the National misfortune at Bull Run struck the people of the Northern States with dismay; but, instead of discouraging them, it caused them to exert themselves more vigorously for the great struggle, and large numbers of volunteers joined the army. On the day after the battle General George Brinton McClellan, who had just distinguished himself by a brilliant campaign in West Virginia, was appointed to command the *Army of the Potomac*, as the forces around the National capital were named.

Very soon the National army was assuming formidable strength through the enlistment of fresh volunteers; and in September the Confederates, whose flag for a long time had flaunted in sight of the National capital, were gradually pushed back from Munson's Hill, on the Virginia side of the Potomac, until the National troops occupied the positions they had held before the battle of Bull Run. In this department, as all the other military departments during the remainder of the year, there was much skirmishing between the outposts of the two armies; and almost every day there was somewhere on the extended line of operations one or more encounters resulting in considerable loss—a feature which characterized the war during its whole continuance. Only the more important conflicts can be mentioned in this volume.

On the Potomac, above Washington, a National force under General Charles P. Stone was stationed at Poolesville, Maryland, near Point of Rocks and the mouth of the Monocacy. National troops under General William Farrar Smith defeated the Confederates under General James Ewell Brown Stuart, near Lewinsville, Virginia, September 12, 1861. Confederate troops crossed the Potomac into Maryland, but were repulsed by National troops under Colonel John White Geary, near Darnestown, Maryland, September 15th, and were driven back.

Colonel Geary crossed into Virginia and defeated the Confederates near Harper's Ferry, October 16th.

Finally, on October 21, 1861, General Stone sent two thousand men under Colonel Edward Dickinson Baker, late a United States Senator from Oregon, across the Potomac to attack the Confederates at Leesburg, Virginia; but this force had no sooner crossed the river than they were overpowered and utterly defeated and routed by the Confederates under General Evans, at Ball's Bluff, on the Virginia side of the Potomac, on the same day, October 21, 1861. As the Union troops did not have sufficient means to recross the river they lost half their number; the gallant Colonel Baker, the commander of the expedition, being among the killed, and his death being sincerely lamented. The Confederate loss was less than a third of that of the Union troops.

Battle of Ball's Bluff.

Death of Colonel Baker.

For two months after the battle of Ball's Bluff the public was daily informed that "All is quiet on the Potomac!" The National troops under General Edward Otho Cresap Ord routed the Confederates under General James Ewell Brown Stuart at Drainsville, Virginia, about half way between Leesburg and Washington, December 20, 1861, Ord having moved in that direction both to obtain forage for his horses and to press back the Confederates.

Battle of Drainsville.

The people of West Virginia from the beginning of the Civil War had been opposed to secession, and they persisted in refusing to place themselves under the rule of the Confederate government and the secession State government of Virginia. Representatives from about forty of the western counties of Virginia met in a convention at Wheeling on June 11, 1861, and on the 17th they declared West Virginia independent of the rest of the State and elected Francis Harrison Pierpont for their Governor, at the same time taking steps to bring about the admission of West Virginia into the Union as a separate State.

Loyalty of West Virginia.

The soil of West Virginia was early stained by the blood of civil war. Colonel Benjamin Franklin Kelley occupied Grafton May 30, 1861, the Confederates having evacuated the town on his approach. Four days afterward, June 3, 1861, Colonel Kelley routed almost a thousand Confederates at Philippi, the first regular battle of the Civil War. Eight days later, June 11, 1861, Colonel Lewis Wallace, with a few Indiana troops, dispersed five hundred Confederates at Romney. Late in June General George Brinton McClellan took command of the National forces in West Virginia and at once planned a vigorous campaign.

Battles of Philippi and Romney.

On July 11, 1861, Colonel William Stark Rosecrans, at the head of a part of McClellan's troops, defeated and routed three thousand Confederates under Colonel William Johnson Pegram at Rich Mountain, near Beverly, after a spirited action. McClellan directed a hot pur-

Battles of Rich Mountain and Carrick's Ford.

suit; and the fleeing Confederates were overtaken and defeated at Carrick's Ford two days later, July 13, 1861, their general, Robert Selden Garnett, being killed. The Union troops under General Jacob Dolson Cox drove the Confederates under ex-Governor Henry Alexander Wise out of the Kanawha Valley. In this short campaign, under General McClellan's direction, the Union forces drove ten thousand Confederates from their intrenchments, killed two hundred and fifty of them, took a thousand prisoners and a large quantity of spoils, and left the West Virginians free to organize for the Union. McClellan was soon succeeded in command in West Virginia by General William Stark Rosecrans.

**General
Mc-
Clellan's
Campaign
in West
Virginia.**

**Confed-
erate
Invasion
of West
Virginia.**

The Confederates of Virginia, being resolved to compel the Union people of West Virginia to submit to the authority of the secession State government of Virginia and that of the Confederate government, sent large bodies of troops into that region under the command of Robert Edward Lee, late a colonel in the United States army; Henry Alexander Wise, ex-Governor of Virginia, and John Buchanan Floyd, ex-Secretary of War. Floyd was defeated by the National troops under General Rosecrans at Carnifax Ferry, on the Gauley river, September 10, 1861, and fled during the night across the Gauley river, leaving his camp equipage, baggage and a quantity of small arms to the victorious Unionists. General Lee, who recently had been appointed to the chief command of the Confederate forces in West Virginia, was repulsed in his attack upon the National troops under General Joseph J. Reynolds at Cheat Mountain, about the middle of September, after which he joined with Floyd and Wise in the Kanawha Valley, their united forces amounting to twenty thousand men. Early in October, Reynolds defeated a Confederate detachment on Greenbriar river, and late in the same month General Benjamin Franklin Kelley routed a Confederate force near Romney. Near the close of 1861 the Confederate troops retired from West Virginia, and Floyd was transferred to Tennessee.

**Battles of
Carnifax
Ferry,
Cheat
Mountain
and
Green-
briar
River.**

**Seces-
sionist
Designs
in
Missouri.**

**Lyon's
Capture
of Camp
Jackson.**

In the meantime the war raged violently in Missouri, between the adherents of the Union and the supporters of the Southern Confederacy. The Governor of that State, Claiborne Fox Jackson, was resolved to take the State out of the Union; but a majority of the people of the State were for the Union. For the purpose of carrying out his designs, Governor Jackson established camps of instruction in different parts of the State. Camp Jackson at St. Louis had twelve hundred men armed by the Confederate government. On May 10, 1861, Captain Nathaniel Lyon, with a body of home-guards, suddenly surrounded Camp Jackson and took the whole force prisoners. A mob which followed Lyon and made a hostile demonstration against his men was

fired upon, and many were killed and wounded. To the widow of one of his officers who was killed in this affray, Lyon said: "Since my boyhood it has been my highest wish to die as your husband has." His wish was gratified a few months later, as we shall see presently. Lyon was promoted to be a general. Governor Jackson then sought to carry out his designs from Jefferson City, the capital of Missouri. He issued a proclamation calling out the State militia to repel National invasion, and a Confederate force was marching into the State from Arkansas to his assistance.

The vigilance and promptitude of Lyon foiled Jackson's purpose. Lyon at once started for Jefferson City with three thousand troops. Jackson fled to Booneville, where he was defeated and put to flight by the pursuing Lyon, June 18, 1861. Jackson then fled to the south-western part of the State, where his adherents were gathering in large numbers. Lyon sent Colonel Franz Sigel with fifteen hundred Unionists to oppose Jackson in that quarter. After gaining some advantages Sigel encountered a largely-superior force under Jackson at Carthage, July 5, 1861, and after a gallant fight he retreated and rejoined Lyon, who was marching to his assistance. Late in July, General John Charles Fremont assumed the chief command of the Union forces in Missouri and set about the organization of a fleet of gunboats and mortar boats on the Mississippi and its tributaries. Governor Jackson's friends were forming marauding parties throughout the State. General John Pope, with Union troops, soon restored order in Northern Missouri.

In the meantime General Lyon had marched into South-western Missouri to oppose Governor Jackson and the Confederate invaders from Arkansas under Generals Sterling Price and Ben McCullough. On August 2, 1861, Lyon defeated the Confederates under Ben McCullough, the famous Texas Ranger, at Dug Spring, near the border of Arkansas. On the 10th of the same month, August, 1861, Lyon, at the head of only five thousand National troops, fought with twenty thousand Confederates, under Price and McCullough, the battle of Wilson's Creek, near Springfield, Missouri. The attack was made by Lyon, although he was outnumbered four to one. After the battle had raged for some time Lyon ordered a bayonet charge. He placed himself at the head of a body of men who had just lost their leader, and exclaimed: "Come on, brave men! I will lead you." The charge was made and the Confederates were routed, but Lyon was killed while fighting gallantly at the head of his troops. He left all his property to the government in whose service he lost his life. The slaughter on both sides was terrific. After the Confederates had been repeatedly driven from the field, the National troops were obliged to fall back,

Battles of
Boone-
ville and
Carthage.

General
Fremont's
Activity.

Battles of
Dug
Spring
and
Wilson's
Creek.

Death of
General
Lyon.

thus leaving South-western Missouri open to the Confederates. The battle of Wilson's Creek was, next to the first battle of Bull Run, the greatest battle of the year 1861.

Fremont's Action. On the last day of August, Fremont proclaimed martial law in Missouri and declared the slaves of Disunionists to be free—a declaration which President Lincoln modified so as to restrict its operation to slaves actually assisting the Confederate army.

Colonel Mulligan's Short but Gallant Defense of Lexington, Missouri. One of the most memorable events of the war in Missouri in 1861 was the capture of Lexington, on the Missouri river, by the Confederates under Price, after a gallant defense by Colonel James A. Mulligan, who, with little more than twenty-five hundred Union troops behind intrenchments, held out four days against an enemy ten times as numerous, and only surrendered after he had exhausted his ammunition and the supply of water had been cut off for three days from the brave garrison, who had only vinegar to drink. Lexington was retaken by a National cavalry force under Major White on October 16, 1861.

Major Zagonyi's Dashing Charge. In October, 1861, General Fremont, with an army of thirty thousand men, marched toward Springfield, in pursuit of the Confederates. One of the most brilliant exploits of the war was a dashing charge of one hundred and sixty cavalrymen of Fremont's body-guard, under Major Zagonyi, a Hungarian refugee, against two thousand Confederates, near Springfield, October 21, 1861, the day of the battle of Ball's Bluff, on the Potomac. Notwithstanding the immense superiority of the Confederates drawn up to receive Fremont's body-guard, Major Zagonyi sounded the charge, and his men rushed on their foes in the midst of a deadly fire, with irrepressible enthusiasm, shouting: "Fremont and the Union!" The Confederates were routed and they fled in all directions. Early in November, 1861, Fremont was superseded in his command by General David Hunter, who was succeeded during the same month by General Henry Wager Halleck. Before the close of 1861 the Confederates were in full retreat toward Arkansas. Confederate detachments were defeated by Union troops in various parts of Missouri, and Jeff. Thompson's guerrilla band was defeated and dispersed in October by Missouri, Illinois and Indiana troops.

Confederates Driven from Missouri. In the meantime the Confederates under General Benjamin Franklin Cheatham had established a fortified camp at Belmont, in South-eastern Missouri, on the Mississippi river, opposite Columbus, Kentucky. Three thousand National troops under General Ulysses Simpson Grant were transported from Cairo, Illinois, to the Missouri shore of the Mississippi; and they attacked the Confederates at Belmont, November 7, 1861, driving them from their intrenched camp and destroying their camp equipage; but when the Confederates received reinforcements from Columbus the Union troops withdrew to their

Battle of Belmont.

transports, and they returned to Cairo under the protection of their gunboats.

In the Territory of New Mexico, Major Isaac Lynde surrendered Fort Fillmore; with its garrison of about seven hundred men, to the Confederates, thus following the example of General David Emanuel Twiggs in Texas early in the year. The Confederate leaders had enlisted the Indians on the South-western frontier in their cause.

The majority of the people of Kentucky were on the side of the Union; but the secessionists within her borders, among whom was Governor Beriah Magoffin, succeeded in keeping the State neutral for a time. Like the other border Slave States—Maryland and Missouri—Kentucky had soldiers in both the National and Confederate armies. Prominent Kentuckians in the Confederate army were ex-Vice President John Cabell Breckinridge, Simon Bolivar Buckner and George Bibb Crittenden, son of the Unionist United States Senator, John Jordan Crittenden. Among eminent Kentuckians in the Union army were Generals William Nelson, Lovell Harrison Rousseau and Thomas Leonidas Crittenden, also a son of John Jordan Crittenden. The National troops in Kentucky were at first commanded by General (formerly Major) Robert Anderson, the hero of Fort Sumter, himself a Kentuckian. He was obliged to retire on account of ill-health, and General William Tecumseh Sherman was appointed to his place. Sherman was soon succeeded by General Don Carlos Buell.

In the meantime Confederate troops had invaded Kentucky from Tennessee. Thus General Felix Kirk Zollicoffer, formerly a member of the National Congress, entered Eastern Kentucky by way of Cumberland Gap, and attacked the National troops under General Schoepf at Camp Wildcat, October 21, 1861—the day of the battle of Ball's Bluff, on the Potomac—but was repulsed with heavy loss. Early in November a National force under General William Nelson attacked and routed the Confederates at Piketon, thus frustrating their designs on Eastern Kentucky. In Central Kentucky there was a large Confederate army commanded by General Simon Bolivar Buckner. In Western Kentucky the Confederates under General Leonidas Polk, a bishop of the Protestant Episcopal Church, occupied Hickman and Columbus in September; and General Grant, with National troops from the camp at Cairo, Illinois, took possession of Paducah. Kentucky then openly declared for the Union.

Though Tennessee had seceded from the Union and joined the Southern Confederacy, the people of East Tennessee were ardently for the Union; and the harsh measures of the Confederate authorities could not shake the attachment of these people to the National cause. Confederate troops occupied this region, destroyed crops and other property

Fall of
Fort
Fillmore,
in New
Mexico.

Kentucky
Unionists
and
Seces-
sionists.

Confed-
erate
Invasion
of
Kentucky

Battles of
Camp
Wildcat
and
Piketon.

Loyalty
of East
Tennes-
see.

and arrested many of the Union sympathizers. Four prominent men of Tennessee were for the Union from the beginning—Andrew Johnson, United States Senator; Rev. William Gannaway Brownlow, editor of the Knoxville *Whig* and formerly a Methodist preacher; Judge Horace Maynard and Emerson Etheridge.

Confederate Control of the Mississippi.

The Confederates had obtained control of the Mississippi river, from Columbus, Kentucky, to its mouth, by seizing the forts and erecting batteries at commanding points. In September, 1861, a National force was landed on Ship Island, along the Gulf coast of Mississippi. In October a Confederate iron-clad ram, attended by gunboats and fire-ships, came down from New Orleans one night to destroy the National blockading vessels at the mouth of the Mississippi; but the Confederate vessels, under Captain Hollins, formerly of the United States navy, were beaten off by the Union ships.

Fights between Forts Pickens and McRae, Florida.

On the Gulf coast of Western Florida, in October, 1861, the Confederates surprised, plundered and destroyed a Union camp on Santa Rosa Island; but, with the aid of a part of the garrison of Fort Pickens, they were driven off with much loss. Late in November the Union garrison in Fort Pickens opened fire upon Fort McRae and other forts and batteries and the navy-yard, then in the possession of the Confederates. Fort Pickens continued the bombardment the next day, silencing Fort McRae, seriously damaging the navy-yard and almost destroying the neighboring village of Warrington.

Capture of Hatteras Inlet.

Late in the summer and during the fall of 1861 the National army and navy gained important advantages on the Atlantic coast of the Southern States. On August 26, 1861, Forts Clarke and Hatteras, on Hatteras Inlet, on the coast of North Carolina, were captured with their garrisons and munitions of war by a National land and naval expedition under General Benjamin Franklin Butler and Commodore Silas Horton Stringham. This victory gave the National forces a permanent foothold in North Carolina. Union citizens held two conventions, October 12 and November 18, 1861, and declared their independence of the secessionist government of North Carolina, and soon elected a member of the National Congress, November 27, 1861, but were reduced to submission by the Confederate authorities.

North Carolina Unionists.

On the 7th of November, 1861—the day of Grant's defeat at Belmont, Missouri—Forts Walker and Beauregard, at Port Royal Entrance, on the coast of South Carolina, below Charleston, were captured by a National naval and military expedition under Commodore Samuel Francis Dupont and General Thomas West Sherman. The town of Beaufort thus fell into the possession of the National forces. A few days later Commodore Dupont took possession of Tybee Island, at the mouth of the Savannah river. The capture of Port Royal gave

Capture of Port Royal.

the National forces possession of the Sea Islands of South Carolina, so celebrated for the production of fine cotton, thus causing a serious loss to the Confederates.

On the 1st of November, 1861, General McClellan was made commander-in-chief of the armies of the United States; General Winfield Scott having resigned that post in October, on account of his extreme age and infirmities. Only the most important military events of 1861 have been related.

The National navy, which at the beginning of the war consisted of but twelve vessels available for service at home, had become sufficiently powerful to guard the entire Gulf and Atlantic coasts of the seceded States, three thousand miles in length, and to render rather efficient aid toward restoring the authority of the National government. Nevertheless vessels loaded with valuable cargoes frequently eluded the vigilance of the blockade and ran into Confederate ports. Several Confederate vessels got to sea and as privateers did great injury to the commerce of the United States and found protection in foreign ports. The first of these privateers was the schooner *Savannah*, which escaped from Charleston, South Carolina, June 2, 1861, and which was captured in a few days after she had taken one prize. Another from the same port was the *Petrel*, which was sunk by a broadside from the United States frigate *St. Lawrence*. The steamer *Sumter*, which escaped from New Orleans, on June 30, 1861, captured and burned American merchantmen; but early in 1862 she was closely blockaded in the Bay of Gibraltar by the National gunboat *Tuscarora* and was sold in port.

In the meantime the Confederate government had appointed James Murray Mason, of Virginia, as its commissioner to Great Britain, and John Slidell, of Louisiana, as its commissioner to France. One of the successful blockade runners carried these two Confederate commissioners to Havana, in Cuba, where they embarked for Europe on board the British mail steamer *Trent*. The next day—November 8, 1861—the United States sloop-of-war *San Jacinto*, commanded by Captain Charles Wilkes, intercepted the *Trent* in the Bahama Channel, took the two Confederate commissioners and their secretaries from her and brought them as prisoners to the United States. Though Captain Wilkes had acted on his own responsibility, he received congratulations from the Secretary of the Navy, thanks from the House of Representatives on the first day of its session, in December, 1861, and honors from almost every form of public and private gratitude; but the United States government, under the direction of President Lincoln and Secretary of State Seward, disavowed the act of Captain Wilkes. Said the President: "We must stick to American principles concerning the

Occupation of the Sea Islands.

General McClellan.

Blockade of the Confederate Coasts.

Confederate Privateers.

The Trent Affair.

rights of neutrals. * * * If Great Britain demands, we must give up the traitors."

Great
Britain's
Indignation
and
Demand.

Great Britain demanded that the two Confederate commissioners be given up immediately, in a dispatch to Lord Lyons, the British Minister at Washington; and, without waiting for a reply, she ordered troops and arms to Canada, ships and munitions to the British North American and West India squadrons, while English journals raved and Englishmen appeared to have lost their reason for the time being. The prince-consort insisted on moderation; and the Liberal party, under the leadership of Richard Cobden and John Bright, assumed a rational position; to which the great majority of their countrymen were attracted when the first flash of passion had passed.

American
Back-
down.

In the meantime Secretary of State Seward had written to Charles Francis Adams, the United States Minister in London, that, as Captain Wilkes had not acted under instructions, the United States government awaited suggestions from the British government, November 30, 1861. Late in December, 1861, Mr. Seward communicated to Lord Lyons, the British Minister at Washington, a letter addressed to Minister Adams, in which he argued that if Captain Wilkes had brought the *Trent* itself into port, to be adjudged a prize or liberated by a court of admiralty, he would have acted in strict accordance with British principles concerning neutrals; but that, as he had not done so and as he had no warrant in American principles to interfere with a neutral vessel as he had, his prisoners must be released by the United States. Said the Secretary of State: "We are asked to do to the British nation just what we have always insisted all nations ought to do unto us." On New Year's Day, 1862, the Confederate commissioners and their secretaries were delivered to a British gunboat at Provincetown, Massachusetts. The London *Times*, which had led in the British newspaper denunciation of Captain Wilkes and the United States government, now said that Great Britain would have done just as much for two negroes. Although Messrs. Mason and Slidell reached London and Paris respectively as the Confederate agents, the British and French governments refused to recognize them in their official capacity.

British
Sympathy
Divided.

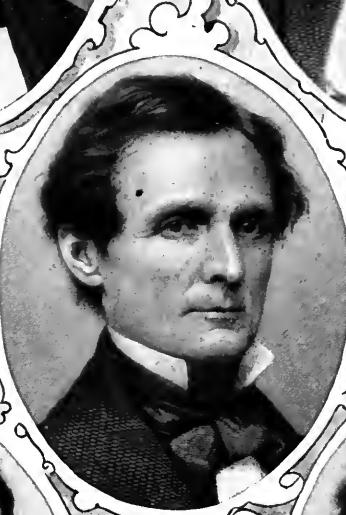
Though Great Britain had declared her neutrality and though she steadily refused to recognize the independence of the Confederate States, her aristocracy and many of her leading statesmen openly sympathized with the Confederates; and her government failed to carry out her proclaimed policy of neutrality, as many British-built Confederate privateers got to sea and did great injury to American commerce. Earl Russell—formerly called Lord John Russell—Secretary of Foreign Affairs in Lord Palmerston's Liberal Ministry, was a known sympathizer with the Confederates, as was also the Rt. Hon. William



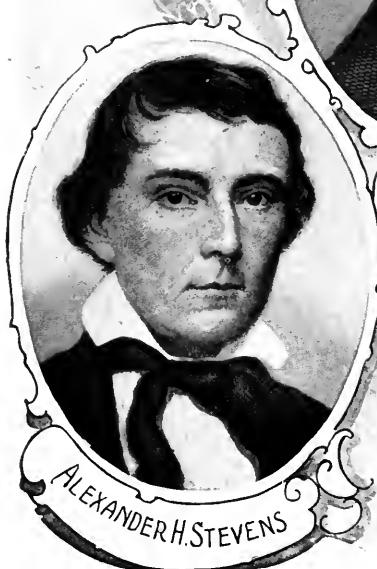
JOHN C. BRECKENRIDGE



I.P. BENJAMIN.



JEFFERSON
DAVIS



ALEXANDER H. STEVENS



R. TOOMBS

CONFEDERATE STATESMEN AND LEADERS



Ewart Gladstone, another prominent Liberal statesman, who remarked: "In my opinion Jefferson Davis has created a nation." Lord Derby, a great leader of the Tory, or Conservative opposition, was likewise an avowed pro-Confederate sympathizer. Among the great Liberal statesmen in England who were true friends of the Union were Richard Cobden and John Bright, whose influence over the Cabinet was of immense value to the Union cause. From his place in the Ministry, John Bright at times seemed to be the arbiter of the fate of the Union, as he held the British government firmly to its professed policy of neutrality and exerted himself to his utmost with success to prevent a recognition of the Southern Confederacy. Another British statesman whose sympathies were openly with the Union cause was the Rt. Hon. Benjamin Disraeli, the Tory, or Conservative opposition leader in the House of Commons—afterward so famous as Lord Beaconsfield—who remarked that "the triumph of the Confederate States would be a misfortune to the cause of civilization." The royal family of Great Britain—Queen Victoria herself and her husband, Prince Albert, and their son, Albert Edward, Prince of Wales—were outspoken friends of the Union; but the lamented prince-consort died at the close of 1861, after exerting his influence to preserve peace with the United States.

Difficult was the post of the United States Minister to Great Britain during the Civil War—Charles Francis Adams, of Massachusetts, son of John Quincy Adams and Free Soil candidate for Vice President in 1848, on the same ticket with ex-President Martin Van Buren. Equally difficult was the post of the United States Minister to France during the same period—William Lewis Dayton, of New Jersey, the Republican candidate for Vice President on the same ticket with Fremont in 1856—as the Emperor Napoleon III. showed himself to be not only a pro-Confederate sympathizer, but an undisguised enemy of the Union cause, by his repeated endeavors to induce Great Britain to join him in recognizing the independence of the Confederate States, and by his attack on the Monroe Doctrine by attempting to establish a Latin empire in Mexico when the United States was unable to resist his hostile designs on account of her hands being tied by her great Civil War, as the struggle for the preservation of the Union taxed all the energies and resources of the United States government.

Early in 1862 Simon Cameron, of Pennsylvania, was succeeded as Secretary of War by Edwin McMasters Stanton, War Democrat, from the same State. The Confederate government, at first only provisional, was organized permanently February 22, 1862, under a constitution adopted in 1861 and modeled after that of the United States; the legislative power being vested in a Congress composed of a Senate and House of Representatives, and the executive power in a President

Difficult
Posts of
Ministers
Adams
and
Dayton.

Confed-
erate
Constitu-
tion.

and Vice President to serve for a term of six years. Under this constitution Jefferson Davis and Alexander Hamilton Stephens were continued as President and Vice President respectively.

The
National
Armies
at the
Beginning
of 1862.

At the beginning of 1862 the National armies in the field numbered more than half a million men and confronted the Confederate forces, numbering three hundred and fifty thousand men, on a line extending from the Potomac to Kansas. The National armies were constantly recruited under repeated calls of the President for volunteers. Almost two hundred thousand Union troops, chiefly in the vicinity of Washington, were under the immediate command of General George Brinton McClellan. General Don Carlos Buell had about one hundred thousand in Central and Eastern Kentucky. General Ulysses Simpson Grant had about thirty thousand in Western Kentucky and at Cairo, Illinois. General Henry Wager Halleck had about seventy thousand in Missouri. The remaining one hundred thousand were scattered at various places as follows: In South Carolina, under General Thomas West Sherman; at Fortress Monroe, Virginia, under General John Ellis Wool; on the Lower Potomac, under General Joseph Hooker; on the Upper Potomac, under General Benjamin Franklin Kelley; in West Virginia, under General William Stark Rosecrans, and in garrisons organizing for expeditions on the Atlantic coast and on the Western frontier. The Confederates held nearly all Virginia, part of West Virginia, half of Kentucky, part of Missouri, and the rest of the Southern States, except Fort Pickens, the Tortugas, Key West, Hatteras Inlet and Port Royal. The fiercest of the Confederate troops were the Louisiana Tigers and the Texas Rangers.

Confed-
erate
Armies in
Kentucky

The first military operations in 1862 opened in Kentucky, and after a series of brilliant Union victories the Confederates were driven from that State. At the beginning of the year the Confederates occupied Paintville and held strong positions on a line of defense extending from Mill Spring, through Bowling Green, to Columbus. On January 7th a few thousand Union troops under General James Abram Garfield defeated the Confederates under Humphrey Marshall at Prestonsburg, thus driving the Confederates from Paintville and Eastern Kentucky. On January 19, 1862, an advance division of General Buell's army, under General George Henry Thomas, defeated a Confederate force under General George Bibb Crittenden at Mill Spring, near Somerset, Kentucky, the Confederate General Felix Kirk Zollicoffer being among the killed.

Battles of
Preston-
burg and
Mill
Spring.

On the 6th of February, 1862, Fort Henry, on the Tennessee River, in Tennessee, was captured by a National fleet of gunboats under Commodore Andrew Hull Foote. The commander of the garrison, Lloyd Tilghman, his staff and about sixty men were made prisoners; but the

Capture
of Forts
Henry
and
Donelson.

greater part of the garrison fled to Fort Donelson, on the Cumberland River, in the same State, twelve miles distant. On February 16, 1862, ten days after the fall of Fort Henry, Fort Donelson, after an assault and bombardment of three days, was surrendered with its garrison of thirteen thousand Confederate troops by its commander, General Simon Bolivar Buckner, to General Grant, who commanded the National army which had invested and besieged the fortress. The night before the surrender five thousand Confederate troops under Generals Gideon Johnson Pillow and John Buchanan Floyd made their escape. In reply to Buchner's note proposing an armistice to agree upon terms of surrender, Grant said: "No terms other than an unconditional and immediate surrender can be accepted. I propose to move immediately upon your works." By this reply U. S. Grant received the popular sobriquet of "Unconditional Surrender Grant."

The Confederates evacuated Bowling Green, Kentucky, during the siege of Fort Donelson, and Columbus, in the western part of the same State, soon afterwards. After the fall of Fort Henry, National gun-boats sailed up the Tennessee River to Florence, Alabama, seizing or destroying steamers and other property. A few days after the capture of Fort Donelson a Union detachment under General William Nelson took possession of Nashville, Tennessee's capital. Soon afterward President Lincoln appointed Andrew Johnson, United States Senator from Tennessee, who was the only Southern Senator who remained a friend of the Union, to the office of Military Governor of that State.

Grant's victorious army, almost forty thousand strong, was conveyed on board steamers upon the Tennessee river to Pittsburg Landing, in Tennessee, near the Mississippi State line. On April 6, 1862, Grant's army was attacked by over forty thousand Confederates under Generals Beauregard and Albert Sidney Johnston, while encamped at Shiloh Church, near Pittsburg Landing. The Confederates were victorious on that day and drove Grant's troops back to the river with great slaughter, capturing many prisoners and much war material; and the Union army was only saved by the National gunboats, with whose assistance the victorious Confederates were held at bay. During the night Grant was reinforced by a strong force under General Buell from Nashville; and the next day, April 7, 1862, the battle was renewed, and after a sanguinary struggle the Confederates were defeated and compelled to flee to Corinth, in North-eastern Mississippi. The Union loss was nearly fourteen thousand men in killed, wounded and prisoners, and the Confederate loss was about the same. General William Harvey Lamb Wallace, of the Union army, and General Albert Sidney Johnston, the Confederate commander-in-chief in the West, were killed. Johnston's

**Unionist
Gains.**

**Andrew
Johnson,
Military
Governor
of Ten-
nessee.**

**Battle of
Shiloh.**

**Deaths of
Generals
Wm. H.
L. Wal-
lace and
Albert
Sidney
Johnston.**

death was greatly lamented throughout the South. This important engagement is known as the *battle of Shiloh*. In the meantime General Ormsby McKnight Mitchel marched southward from Nashville with a detachment of Buell's army, occupied Huntsville, Alabama, April 11, 1862, and took possession of many miles of the Memphis and Charleston Railroad.

Siege and Fall of Corinth. Soon after the battle of Shiloh, General Halleck took command of Grant's army; and, after receiving reinforcements which increased this army to more than a hundred thousand men, he marched against the Confederates, who were strongly intrenched at Corinth, Mississippi. On May 29, 1862, after having suffered a heavy bombardment, Corinth was evacuated by the Confederates, and was taken possession of by General Halleck's army the next day (May 30, 1862). In July, General Halleck was called to Washington as commander-in-chief of the National armies, leaving his army at Corinth under the command of General Grant.

Battles of Iuka, Corinth and Hatchie. In September, 1862, the Confederates under Generals Earl Van Dorn and Sterling Price made a vigorous effort to retake Corinth, but were defeated by a part of Grant's army under General Rosecrans at Iuka, Mississippi, on September 19th. On October 3d and 4th Van Dorn and Price attacked Rosecrans in the strong defenses of Corinth, but were defeated and routed with terrible slaughter, Rosecrans having a force only half as large. The Confederates were pursued and defeated on October 5, 1862, in the battle of the Hatchie, by the National troops under Generals Ord and Hurlburt. In the battles of Iuka, Corinth and the Hatchie the Confederates lost more than ten thousand men, while the Union loss was only about three thousand.

Capture of New Madrid and Island Number Ten. In the spring of 1862 the Confederate posts on the Mississippi river successively fell into the possession of the National army and navy. The fall of Forts Henry and Donelson and the approach of National gunboats caused the Confederates to evacuate Columbus and Hickman, Kentucky, and to fortify Island Number Ten, in the Mississippi, and New Madrid, Missouri. The garrisons were aided by the Confederate gunboats under Captain Hollins. After one day's bombardment by Ohio and Illinois troops under General John Pope, the Confederate garrison evacuated New Madrid on the night of March 13, 1862, and fled across the Mississippi. Two days later Commodore Foote approached Island Number Ten from the north with his flotilla, and bombarded the island for three weeks; and when General Pope cut off the retreat of the Confederate garrison by crossing the Mississippi from the Missouri to the Tennessee side, Island Number Ten was surrendered to Commodore Foote, on the very day of Grant's victory at Shiloh, April 7, 1862. Most of the garrison attempted to escape, but were

pursued and captured the next day by General Pope's army. By this important victory the Union forces obtained five thousand prisoners, several steamboats and a vast quantity of military stores. The spoils of war were the greatest won by the Unionists in any conflict of the war thus far.

After the capture of Island Number Ten, General Pope hastened with most of his troops to assist General Halleck in the siege of Corinth. Commodore Foote's flotilla immediately sailed down the Mississippi and besieged Fort Pillow, on the Tennessee side of the river. Fort Pillow was garrisoned by three thousand Confederate troops under Jeff Thompson, assisted by a Confederate flotilla under Captain Hollins. Foote's flotilla repulsed both Hollins's flotilla and the garrison, May 10, 1862, and was afterward reinforced by a ram squadron under Charles Ellet, Jr. On the night of June 4th Forts Pillow and Randolph were both evacuated by their Confederate garrisons, in consequence of the evacuation of Corinth. Commodore Foote had been obliged to leave the service on account of a wound which he had received at Fort Donelson, and from the effects of which he died at the Astor House, in New York City, in June, 1863. The command of his flotilla devolved on Commodore Charles Henry Davis, who captured Memphis, Tennessee, June 6, 1862, after a severe naval engagement, in which all but two gunboats of the Confederate flotilla defending the city were either captured or destroyed. The Confederate garrison under Jeff Thompson evacuated the city and fled, and National troops under General Lewis Wallace occupied the city.

In the meantime an expedition had been organized in the South-west for the capture of New Orleans. This expedition consisted of a gun-boat and mortar fleet, under Commodores David Glasgow Farragut and David Dixon Porter, and an army under General Benjamin Franklin Butler. After bombarding Forts Jackson and St. Philip, on opposite sides of the Mississippi river, seventy-five miles below New Orleans, for six days, Farragut and Porter ran by the forts, which poured a continuous stream of shot and shell upon the passing vessels; and a terrific naval engagement ensued, which ended in the destruction of the Confederate squadron of rams, gunboats and floating batteries, commanded by Captain Hollins, April 24, 1862. The landing of some of Butler's troops in the rear of Fort St. Philip and a mutiny of the garrison of Fort Jackson caused the surrender of both forts to Commodore Porter in a few days.

In the meantime Farragut had passed up the river with his fleet and appeared before New Orleans, April 25, 1862. A terrible panic seized the city. Many citizens fled, and four millions of specie and much private property were carried away. Women in the streets cried:

Capture
of Forts
Pillow
and
Randolph
and of
Memphis.

Bombard-
ment of
Forts
Jackson
and St.
Philip.

Capture
of New
Orleans.

"Burn the city!" Ships, steamboats, storehouses and a vast amount of cotton and other property were burned at the levees. The Confederate garrison, numbering ten thousand men, under General Mansfield Lovell, formerly a New York politician, hastily evacuated the city and fled. General Butler, with fourteen thousand National troops, who had rendezvoused on Ship Island, in the Gulf of Mexico, south of Mississippi, took possession of the city, May 1, 1862, the general establishing his headquarters in the St. Charles Hotel. The capture of New Orleans was the severest blow thus far inflicted upon the Confederates.

General Butler's Course at New Orleans.

Butler's conduct in New Orleans aroused the most intense hatred against him in the South, and he was called "Beast Butler." Mayor John T. Monroe and the leading politicians were disposed to be defiant at first. When a demand was made for the surrender of the city and the lowering of the Confederate flag from the custom house and the mint it was refused, and after the National flag was raised over the mint by the troops it was torn down by a mob and carried through the streets in derision. A gambler named Mumford, who led this mob and afterward incited mob violence, was arrested, tried and convicted of treason by court-martial and hanged. Several women having shown disrespect to Butler's officers, Butler issued an order threatening to treat all women guilty of similar offenses in the future as "women of the town." This order aroused great indignation in the South, and Jefferson Davis issued a proclamation of outlawry against Butler.

Capture of Baton Rouge and Natchez.

After the fall of New Orleans, Farragut's gunboat fleet sailed up the Mississippi and took Baton Rouge, the capital of Louisiana, May 7, 1862, and Natchez, Mississippi, May 12th. Farragut proceeded up the river and attacked Vicksburg, June 26th, ran past the Confederate batteries there and joined the Union fleet above. The Confederate ram *Arkansas* sailed from out of the Yazoo river, inflicted considerable damage upon the Union fleet and took refuge under the guns of Vicksburg. Finding Vicksburg too strong to take without the co-operation of an army, Farragut returned to New Orleans.

Battle of Baton Rouge.

On the 5th of August, 1862, the Confederates under General John Cabell Breckinridge, ex-Vice President of the United States, attacked a small National force under General Thomas Williams at Baton Rouge. The National troops were victorious, but the gallant General Williams was killed in the moment of triumph. The Confederate ram *Arkansas* came down to take part in the conflict, but her engines gave out and her crew set her on fire and abandoned her. Soon afterward the Union troops evacuated Baton Rouge. Commodore Porter sailed up the Mississippi and had a fight with the Confederate batteries at Port Hudson, September 7th. Late in October, 1862, General God-

Destruction of the Ram Arkansas.

frey Weitzel led an expedition into the Lafourche district of Louisiana, to the south-west of New Orleans, defeated the Confederates near Lebadieville, October 27th, and took possession of the district.

Occupation of the Lafourche District.

The Mississippi river was open from the north as far south as Vicksburg, Mississippi; and south of Vicksburg it had already been opened by the capture of New Orleans and Natchez. On December 29, 1862, General William Tecumseh Sherman attacked the Confederate works at Chickasaw Bayou, near Vicksburg, but was repulsed after severe fighting. Grant was marching down from the north to coöperate with Sherman, but was obliged to fall back on account of the disgraceful surrender of the Union garrison at Holly Springs, Mississippi, left there to protect his supplies.

Attack on Vicksburg Repulsed.

West of the Mississippi the war raged in Arkansas and Missouri early and late in the year 1862. About the middle of February the National army under General Samuel Ryan Curtis drove the Confederate army under General Sterling Price, from South-western Missouri, across the border into North-western Arkansas. Price was soon reinforced by Generals Earl Van Dorn, Ben McCullough and James McQueen McIntosh, and by Albert Pike with a force of Indians from Indian Territory; and the united Confederate forces, twenty thousand strong, assumed the offensive against Curtis, whose army did not number much over ten thousand men. Curtis selected a strong position on Pea Ridge, where a severe battle of three days was fought, March 6, 7 and 8, 1862. The Confederates began the battle by attacking General Franz Sigel's six hundred men, but were repulsed by Sigel's artillery, and the battle ended in a disastrous Confederate defeat. The victorious Union army lost over thirteen hundred men. The Confederate loss was much greater, and among their killed were Generals McCullough and McIntosh. After the battle of Pea Ridge, General Curtis led his army to Helena, on the Mississippi river.

The War in Arkansas and Missouri.

Battle of Pea Ridge.

During the spring and summer of 1862 there were about a hundred battles and skirmishes in Missouri, and Confederate invaders from Arkansas were driven back. General John McAllister Schofield, who commanded twenty thousand Union troops scattered over Missouri, defeated the guerrilla bands late in the summer of 1862. Generals Schofield and James G. Blunt, with ten thousand Union troops, marched against the Confederates under General Thomas Carmichael Hindman, in North-western Arkansas, routed a Confederate force at Maysville, October 22d, and drove it into Indian Territory. General Francis J. Herron routed another Confederate detachment, October 28th, and drove it to the mountains. Hindman, who was formerly a member of the National Congress from Arkansas, now raised a Confederate army of twenty thousand men to recover his State. His ad-

Other Union Victories in Arkansas and Missouri.

Battle of Prairie Grove.

vance was routed by Blunt, on the Ozark mountains, November 26th, and was driven toward Van Buren. Hindman, with eleven thousand men, was overwhelmingly defeated by Blunt and Herron at Prairie Grove, on Illinois Creek, near Fayetteville, Arkansas, December 7, 1862. The battles of Pea Ridge and Prairie Grove decided the fate of Arkansas and Missouri, though these States were long harassed by guerrilla warfare.

Battle of Valverde and Capture of Santa Fé.

Early in 1862 the war extended as far west as the Territory of New Mexico. A Confederate force, consisting of twenty-three hundred Texas Rangers, under Major H. H. Sibley, of Louisiana, invaded New Mexico, defeated the National troops under General Edward Richard Spriggs Canby, in the battle of Valverde, near Fort Craig, February 21, 1862, and soon afterward captured Santa Fé, the capital of the Territory; but they were driven out of the Territory in April.

Capture of Pensacola and Galveston.

On the coast of the Gulf of Mexico few events occurred during 1862. The Confederates evacuated Pensacola, Florida, May 9th, after setting fire to the navy-yard and all public and private property within their reach. Commander Renshaw, with four steamers, took Galveston, Texas, in October; but the Confederates retook the city, January 1, 1863.

Capture of Roanoke Island, Newbern and Fort Macon.

On the Atlantic Coast, during the earlier part of 1862, the National army and navy conquered from Virginia to Florida. A National land and naval expedition, under General Ambrose Everett Burnside and Commodore Louis Malesherbes Goldsborough, sailed from Fortress Monroe, Virginia, entered Hatteras Inlet, North Carolina, dispersed the Confederate fleet in Pamlico Sound, and captured Roanoke Island, on February 8, 1862, after a hot conflict of two days; after which the victorious Union fleet pursued and captured or destroyed the Confederate flotilla, and the fleet and army took many settlements on the Sound. Burnside, with twelve thousand men, captured Newbern on March 14th, after a severe fight. Beaufort surrendered without resistance, March 25th, and Fort Macon a month later, April 25th, after a severe bombardment by General John Gray Foster; and almost the whole coast of North Carolina lay at the mercy of the Union forces.

Capture of Fernandina, Jacksonville and Jackson-ville and**Fort Pulaski.**

A National expedition fitted out at Port Royal, South Carolina, took Fernandina, Jacksonville and other places in North-eastern Florida, in March, 1862. On April 11, 1862, Fort Pulaski, at the mouth of the Savannah river, in Georgia, after withstanding a heavy bombardment of two days from the batteries erected on Tybee Island by Captain (afterward Major-General) Quincy Adams Gillmore, surrendered with its immense stores to General David Hunter, who had command of the National troops in that department. In May, Hunter issued a proclamation declaring South Carolina, Georgia and Florida under martial



CONFEDERATE COMMANDERS

law and also declaring the freedom of the slaves in those States. As in the case of Fremont's proclamation in Missouri, President Lincoln overruled Hunter's proclamation.

General
Hunter's
Action.

The 9th of March, 1862, was signalized by a Union naval victory at the mouth of the James river, in Virginia—the victory of the *Monitor* over the *Merrimac*—the first battle that ever occurred between iron-clad vessels. The *Merrimac* was an iron-clad ram, named *Virginia* by the Confederates, who had constructed her out of the United States frigate *Merrimac*, which had been scuttled and sunk by the Union forces when they abandoned the navy-yard at Norfolk in the spring of 1861. On March 8, 1862—the day of the National victory in the battle of Pea Ridge, Arkansas—the *Merrimac*, commanded by Franklin Buchanan, formerly of the United States navy, steamed out from Norfolk, pounced upon the National fleet in Hampton Roads, sunk the sloop-of-war *Cumberland* and compelled the frigate *Congress* to surrender. As the *Merrimac* approached, the Union fleet fired upon her, but their shots glanced harmless from her iron roof. The greatest consternation prevailed within the Union garrison in Fortress Monroe and in the Union fleet. The whole National fleet was in a most perilous situation, being threatened with entire destruction; but during the night a newly-invented iron-clad floating battery, called the *Monitor* and invented by Captain John Ericsson, a Swedish American, sailed into Hampton Roads, and attacked the *Merrimac* the next morning, March 9, 1862, disabled her after a severe action and compelled her to return to Norfolk. By this victory the *Monitor* saved the whole Union fleet; but her gallant commander, Lieutenant John Lorimer Worden, was severely injured in the eyes by the concussion of a shot which struck the pilot house. This great Union naval victory caused unbounded rejoicings in the North.

Fight
between
the
Merrimac
and the
Monitor.

Two months later, when the Confederates evacuated Norfolk, they destroyed the *Merrimac* to prevent her from falling into Union hands. At the close of the year the *Monitor* foundered in a storm off the coast of North Carolina and went to the bottom of the sea, most of her brave crew perishing with her.

Fate
of these
Vessels.

In Virginia events of the greatest magnitude and importance occurred during 1862. Early in February General Frederick William Lander expelled the Confederates from the Upper Potomac, and later in the same month General Nathaniel Prentiss Banks crossed the Potomac from Maryland into Virginia and drove the Confederates under Stonewall Jackson up the Shenandoah Valley. General James Shields, who commanded the advance of Banks's army, enticed Jackson back to Winchester and attacked and defeated him at Kernstown, near that city, with considerable loss, on March 23, 1862. Banks followed up

The
War in
Virginia

Battle of
Win-
chester.

this victory of General Shields by pursuing Jackson's defeated and shattered hosts in their retreat up the Shenandoah Valley.

General McClellan and the Army of the Potomac.

The greater portion of the Army of the Potomac, under General McClellan, for several months had remained inactive on the Virginia side of the Potomac, opposite Washington, to be disciplined, armed and instructed. Early in March, 1862, McClellan advanced and on the 10th he took possession of Manassas, which the Confederates had evacuated. The next day he was relieved of the office of commander-in-chief of all the United States armies and was allowed to give his undivided attention to the Army of the Potomac. General Fremont was assigned to the command of the Union troops in West Virginia and East Tennessee; General Banks to the command of those in the Shenandoah Valley, and General McDowell to the command of those on the Rappahannock. A portion of McDowell's forces under General Christopher Colon Augur drove the Confederates out of Fredericksburg, Virginia, April 18, 1862, and took possession of that city.

McClellan on the Virginia Peninsula.

Siege and Evacuation of Yorktown.

Battle of Williamsburg.

Capture of Norfolk.

Battles of Hanover Court House, Seven Pines and Fair Oaks.

After compelling the Confederates to retreat from Manassas toward Richmond, General McClellan embarked the Army of the Potomac at Alexandria for Fortress Monroe, preparing to approach the Confederate capital by way of the peninsula formed by the York and James rivers. On April 4, 1862, McClellan commenced his march up the peninsula from Fortress Monroe, his army numbering considerably more than a hundred thousand men. For a month he besieged the Confederates under General John Bankhead Magruder at Yorktown, but on May 3d the Confederates evacuated Yorktown and fled toward Richmond. The retreating Confederates were hotly pursued, and two days after the evacuation of Yorktown, May 5, 1862, they were overtaken at Williamsburg, where a terrible battle was fought, which resulted in a National victory. The Confederates resumed their retreat and were again pursued by the National forces.

On May 10, 1862, five days after the battle of Williamsburg, Norfolk was evacuated by the Confederates, after they had destroyed the *Merrimac*; and the town was entered on the same day by National troops under the command of General John Ellis Wool, a hero of the War of 1812 and the war with Mexico. Soon afterward National gunboats attempted to approach Richmond by way of the James river, but were repulsed at Fort Darling.

McClellan continued his march on Richmond. On May 29, 1862, Hanover Court House was captured by a portion of the National army, under General Fitz-John Porter, after a spirited conflict. McClellan established his base of supplies at White House, on the Pamunki river, and threw the left wing of his army across the Chickahominy. This portion of his army was attacked by the Confederates near Seven Pines

and Fair Oaks, May 31st, where a terrible but indecisive battle was fought during that and the following day, June 1st. The Union troops in this battle numbered thirty thousand and belonged to the corps of Generals Erasmus Darwin Keyes and Samuel Peter Heintzelman, and were attacked after they had crossed the Chickahominy by fifty thousand Confederates under General Joseph Eccleston Johnston, near Seven Pines. The Union troops fought bravely, but were compelled to fall back by the overpowering force of the enemy. McClellan's left seemed doomed, but the Union troops were saved from defeat by the promptitude of General Edwin Vose Sumner, who threw General John Sedgwick's division across the north side of the Chickahominy just in time to hurl back a fresh column of Confederates coming down upon the hard-pressed forces of Heintzelman and Keyes, near Fair Oaks Station. The battle closed at night, but was renewed the next day, June 1, 1862, when a Confederate division engaged a part of Sumner's line, but was repulsed, whereupon the entire Confederate army withdrew. The Union loss was more than five thousand, and the Confederate loss was about eight thousand. General Joseph Eccleston Johnston was wounded so severely that he was relieved from active duty, and General Robert Edward Lee was assigned to the command of the Confederate army before Richmond.

Strenuous efforts throughout the revolted States had added immensely to the numerical strength of the Confederate army; while McClellan's effective force had been diminished considerably by the necessity of keeping open his communications, by sickness, by continual skirmishing and by the battles of Williamsburg, Hanover Court House, Seven Pines and Fair Oaks.

McClellan's great reliance was on being reinforced by McDowell from Fredericksburg, but the Confederate general had taken measures to prevent McDowell from reinforcing McClellan. Stonewall Jackson, who was still in the Shenandoah Valley, had been reinforced so that his army now numbered twenty thousand men; and he was ordered to attack the Union force under General Banks, then reduced to less than six thousand men, at Strasburg, after which he was to threaten Washington and force McDowell to turn his attention northward. Jackson carried out the plan assigned him with masterly skill, and his campaign may be regarded as the most brilliant and successful of the war thus far.

By attempting to get into Banks's rear and cut off his retreat, and by overwhelming a small Union force at Front Royal, May 23d, Jackson compelled Banks to retreat in hot haste down the Shenandoah Valley. Banks marched fifty-three miles in two days, continually skirmishing with his pursuers. After a severe defeat at Winchester,

Strength
of the
Opposing
Forces.

Stone-
wall
Jackson
in the
Shenano-
doah
Valley.

Banks's
Disas-
trous
Retreat.

May 25th, Banks resumed his retreat, and crossed the Potomac into Maryland, at Williamsport, the next day, his wearied army having lost less than a thousand men and but a few wagons of an immense train. The retreat of Banks's army caused great alarm throughout the North. Fears were entertained for the safety of Washington, and McDowell was drawn away from reinforcing McClellan. By compelling Banks to retreat across the Potomac, Jackson so skillfully maneuvered his force that he completely neutralized the three Union armies under the respective commands of Fremont, Banks and McDowell, which together amounted to more than sixty thousand men.

Jackson's Skillful Maneuvering.

Jackson's Skillful Retreat.

Battles of Cross Keys and Port Republic.

The Seven Days near Richmond.

Battles of Oak Grove, Mechanicsville and Gaines's Mill.

After giving his wearied army but a single day's rest, Jackson hastily retreated up the Shenandoah Valley and was hotly pursued by the Union forces now concentrating against him. Fremont from the west, and Shields, then under McDowell, from the east, set out to intercept Jackson at Strasburg; but the nimble Confederate general slipped between his foes and fled up the valley, hotly pursued and harassed by superior forces. Banks joined Fremont and Shields in the pursuit. Jackson turned upon Fremont's army at Cross Keys, June 8th, and held it in check while he crossed the Shenandoah river and burned the bridge. The next day, June 9th, Jackson defeated Shields at Port Republic. The pursuit of Jackson was then abandoned by the Union generals, and he escaped with his prisoners and booty and joined Lee before Richmond.

Almost a month after the battle of Fair Oaks, McClellan prepared to advance upon Richmond. But on the very day on which this movement was to begin, Lee, who had already been reinforced by Stonewall Jackson from the Shenandoah Valley, attacked that portion of McClellan's army on the north side of the Chickahominy, thus beginning a series of sanguinary battles near Richmond which lasted seven days, beginning on June 25th and ending on July 1, 1862, and known as the *Seven Days' Battles*.

General Joseph Hooker led the advance against Richmond by advancing his line in front of Fair Oaks, whereupon a desperate struggle known as the battle of Oak Grove ensued, June 25th. The next day, June 26th, the Confederates attacked General George Archibald McClellan's division north of the Chickahominy, thus bringing about the battle of Mechanicsville, in which the Confederates were repulsed with heavy loss. During the night the Union troops withdrew from their position; and on the following day, June 27th, occurred the battle of Gaines's Mill, where thirty-five thousand of McClellan's troops, under General Fitz-John Porter, resisted the assaults of almost twice as many Confederates. McClellan now changed the base of his supplies from the York to the James river, and his trains were transferred across the

Mc-
Clellan's
Change
of Base.

Chickahominy while the battle of Gaines's Mill was in progress. On the same day another part of the Confederate army, under General Magruder, engaged the Union troops south of the Chickahominy, thus preventing them from properly aiding Porter. Porter resisted the Confederate assaults until night, when he crossed the Chickahominy and joined the main body of McClellan's army. The next day McClellan transferred most of his army across White Oak Swamp.

On the morning of June 29th Lee crossed the Chickahominy in pursuit of McClellan, and the fierce battles of Peach Orchard Station and Savage Station occurred on that day. Magruder attacked the Union rear-guard under General Sumner at Savage Station, Sumner resisting his foe until dark, when he withdrew across White Oak Swamp, having secured a safe passage for the Union artillery and trains. Stonewall Jackson pursued the National troops in their retreat, while General James Longstreet passed around to the south of White Oak Swamp to attack them on their flank. On June 30th was fought the desperate battle of White Oak Swamp, or Glendale. General William Buel Franklin held Stonewall Jackson at bay at White Oak Swamp, while Generals McCall, Sumner, Hooker and Philip Kearny repelled Longstreet's impetuous assaults at Charles City Cross Roads. During the night the troops that had checked the advance of Jackson and Longstreet joined the main body of McClellan's army at Malvern Hill. The next day, July 1, 1862, occurred the dreadful battle of Malvern Hill, in which the Confederates charged upon McClellan's strong position, but were mowed down by the Union artillery and were repulsed disastrously.

Thus ended the great Seven Days' Battles before Richmond in the failure of McClellan's advance upon the Confederate capital. Each army numbered about one hundred thousand men. The National army lost sixteen thousand men, and the Confederates lost almost twenty thousand. Lee had raised the siege of Richmond at a heavy cost. McClellan took position at Harrison's Landing, while Lee led this army back to Richmond.

On the 1st of July, 1862, President Lincoln called for three hundred thousand more men for the National army; and on the 11th of the same month General Henry Wager Halleck was appointed commander-in-chief of the armies of the United States, establishing his headquarters in Washington.

On the very day that the Seven Days' Battle before Richmond commenced—June 25, 1862—the forces under Generals Banks, Fremont and McDowell were consolidated into one army named the *Army of Virginia*, the command of which was assigned to General John Pope. This army soon found sufficient employment, as the Confederates, under

Battles of
Peach
Orchard
Station,
Savage
Station,
White
Oak
Swamp
and
Malvern
Hill.

Mc-
Clellan's
Utter
Failure.

General
Halleck.

Army of
Virginia
under
General
Pope.

Confederate Advance.

General Lee and Stonewall Jackson, flushed with their successes over McClellan's army near Richmond, marched northward for the purpose of taking Washington. Fremont resigned and was succeeded by General Franz Sigel.

Battle of Cedar Mountain.

Lee commenced his operations against Pope by sending Stonewall Jackson with a strong column against this new foe. Jackson met that portion of the Army of Virginia under General Banks at Cedar Mountain, in Culpepper county, Virginia, where a spirited but indecisive action was fought on August 9, 1862. Though Jackson's force was twice the size of that of Banks, the Confederate general failed to gain any decisive advantage, and the result of the day's fighting was a drawn battle.

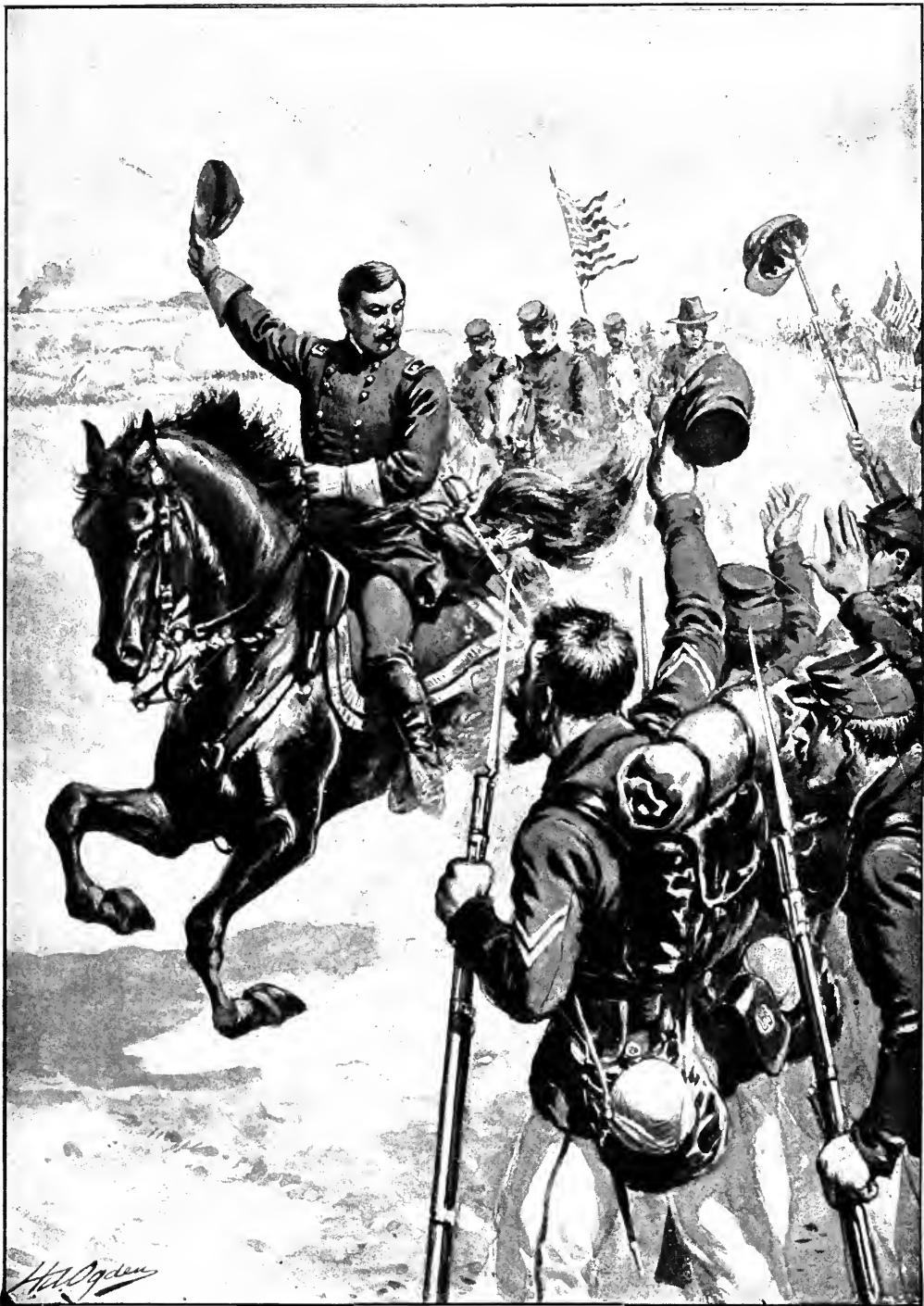
Pope's Retreat and His Peril.

After the battle of Cedar Mountain, Pope marched his whole army to the Rapidan. Jackson fell back across that stream to await the approach of Lee, who was hurrying forward the main body of his army to overwhelm Pope before he could be reinforced. Perceiving his danger Pope fell back to the north bank of the Rappahannock, where he successfully resisted every effort of the Confederate army to cross until August 24, 1862. In the meantime the Confederates under General Stuart made a dash upon Catlett's Station, thirteen miles in Pope's rear, and seized prisoners, horses and the baggage of General Pope and his staff.

Battles of Kettle Run, Groveton, Second Bull Run and Chantilly.

At length the Confederates flanked the Army of Virginia; and a succession of sanguinary battles were fought at and near the old Bull Run battle-ground, beginning on August 24th and ending on September 1, 1862. On August 26th Jackson crossed the Rappahannock at a point farther up the river than the Union army could guard, marched through Thoroughfare Gap and cut off Pope's railroad communications with Washington. Pope thereupon fell back from the Rappahannock. The next day, August 27th, General Hooker's division routed the Confederate corps under General Richard Stoddard Ewell in an action known as the battle of Kettle Run. Heavy battles followed on the plains of Manassas, such as the battle of Groveton, August 29th, and the second battle of Bull Run, August 30th, when Pope was compelled to fall back. Two days later, September 1st, occurred the battle of Chantilly, in which the brave Generals Isaac Ingalls Stevens and Philip Kearny were among the killed on the National side, and which was the last conflict of this campaign. The Confederate loss in this series of battles was fifteen thousand men, while the National loss was twenty thousand men. Pope's army was so badly defeated that, to escape total destruction, it was compelled to seek safety behind the fortifications of Washington. General Fitz-John Porter was accused of disobeying orders and was dismissed from the army in 1863. He was

Pope's Terrible Defeats.



H. A. Ogden
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McCLELLAN AT ANTIETAM, SEPTEMBER 17, 1862

persistent for over twenty years in seeking vindication and reinstatement in the army and finally succeeded in 1866.

MCCLELLAN in the meantime had come up from the Virginia peninsula, but too late to aid Pope. Soon after his disastrous defeat Pope resigned his command; and early in September, 1862, the Armies of Virginia and the Potomac were consolidated, and were thereafter known as the *Army of the Potomac*, the command of which was entrusted to General McClellan for the defense of Washington. This consolidated army at once had its hands full in beating back a formidable invasion of Maryland by the triumphant Confederate forces.

Flushed with their successes over Pope, the Confederates, under the command of General Robert Edward Lee, their commander-in-chief, now crossed the Potomac into Maryland, at Point of Rocks, and entered Frederick. McClellan followed on their right flank, to cover Washington and Baltimore. Lee's invasion of Maryland caused intense excitement and alarm throughout Pennsylvania, especially in the southern counties of the Cumberland and Susquehanna Valleys. The men sent their wives and children and movable property farther north, while they themselves hastened to take up arms to repel the invaders. Lee expected to find the people of Maryland ready to sustain the Confederate cause, but in this he was disappointed, and his proclamation to them was not well received.

On the 14th of September, 1862, the advance of McClellan's army under General Jesse Lee Reno and others overtook Lee's rear and defeated it in a fierce engagement known as the battle of South Mountain, driving the Confederates across the mountain; but the victory of the National army was dearly purchased, as the gallant General Reno was killed. The next day, September 15, 1862, after a slight skirmish, Harper's Ferry, with its garrison of twelve thousand National troops, was shamefully surrendered to Stonewall Jackson by its commander, Colonel D. H. Miles, a Marylander. Over two thousand Union cavalry broke through the Confederate lines before the surrender and escaped. Jackson immediately joined Lee, who, after the battle of South Mountain, had posted his army west of Antietam creek, near Sharpsburg.

On the 17th of September, 1862, was fought the great battle of Antietam between the armies of McClellan and Lee, the former having almost ninety thousand men and the latter about sixty thousand. The battle raged all day from dawn till dark, and the Confederates were defeated with the loss of twenty thousand men, while the National loss was about fifteen thousand men. Among the mortally wounded on the National side were the heroic Generals Mansfield, Richardson and Rodman. The deaths of Generals Joseph King Fenno Mansfield and Isaac Peace Rodman were very much lamented. Immediately after the

Consolidation of Armies under McClellan.

Lee's Invasion of Maryland.

Alarm in Pennsylvania.

Battle of South Mountain.

Surrender of Harper's Ferry.

Battle of Antietam.

Lee's Retreat to Virginia.

battle Lee's army fell back to the Potomac, which it crossed into Virginia, and retreated in the direction of Richmond, without being pursued by McClellan's victorious army.

Confederate Cavalry Raid.

About three weeks after the battle of Antietam a Confederate force under General Stuart made a destructive raid as far north as Chambersburg, in Pennsylvania, and, sweeping entirely around the Army of the Potomac, Stuart returned to Virginia. McClellan remained in Maryland more than a month after the battle of Antietam, and it was late in October when he crossed the Potomac into Virginia. On November 5, 1862, while stationed near Front Royal, he was relieved of the command of the Army of the Potomac, by order of the War Department; and General Ambrose Everett Burnside was appointed to take his place.

Battle of Fredericksburg.

Lee, in the meantime, had led his army from the Shenandoah Valley across the Blue Ridge and taken post on the Rappahannock at Fredericksburg. About the middle of November, Burnside led the Army of the Potomac from the Shenandoah Valley across the Blue Ridge in pursuit of Lee and crossed the Rappahannock at Fredericksburg. On December 13, 1862, occurred the great battle of Fredericksburg, in which Burnside attempted to carry by storm that city and the Confederate works in the rear, but was repulsed after hard fighting, with the loss of fourteen thousand men; the gallant General Bayard, of Delaware, a descendant of the famous French knight, the Chevalier Bayard, being killed. Lee's loss was only about five thousand men. The earth was shaken terribly by the thunders of three hundred Confederate cannon and half as many Union guns. The Army of the Potomac then recrossed to the north side of the Rappahannock, where it remained until May, 1863.

Confederate Invasion of Kentucky

Late in the summer and during the fall of 1862, while the Confederates under General Lee and Stonewall Jackson invaded Maryland, two Confederate armies under the respective commands of Generals Edmund Kirby Smith and Braxton Bragg invaded Kentucky from Tennessee and threatened to carry the war north of the Ohio River, as Lee prepared to do north of Mason and Dixon's line; these simultaneous Confederate invasions causing intense alarm in the North.

Battle of Richmond, Kentucky

General Edmund Kirby Smith invaded Eastern Kentucky from East Tennessee in the latter part of August, 1862, and defeated a part of the National army commanded by General William Nelson at Richmond, Kentucky, on August 29th and 30th, the very days of General Pope's defeats in Virginia by Lee and Stonewall Jackson in the battle of Groveton and the second battle of Bull Run. After this victory Smith occupied Lexington and also Frankfort, the capital of Kentucky, and threatened Cincinnati, the affrighted Legislature of Ken-

tucky fleeing to Louisville. Energetic preparations were made for the defense of Cincinnati, and that city was placed under martial law.

About the same time General Bragg invaded the more western portion of Kentucky and advanced in the direction of Louisville, sending out foraging parties to ravage the country and collect supplies. A part of his army under General Simon Bolivar Buckner was repulsed in an attack upon four thousand Union troops under Colonel John T. Wilder, at Mumfordsville, September 14th, the day of the battle of South Mountain, in Maryland; but two days later, September 16th, General Leonidas Polk, with twenty-five thousand of Bragg's troops, defeated Wilder and compelled him to surrender. In addition to the invasions of Kentucky by Bragg and Kirby Smith, guerilla bands, under Generals John Hunt Morgan and Nathan Bedford Forrest and others, made destructive raids through Central and Eastern Kentucky, sacking towns and seizing or destroying property, and even crossed the Ohio River and plundered Newburg, Indiana. An unfortunate incident during this campaign was the fatal quarrel between two Union generals; General William Nelson, of Kentucky, being shot and killed by General Jefferson C. Davis, of Indiana, in a hotel in Louisville, September 29, 1862.

The Confederate invaders had expected to find the people of Kentucky in sympathy with their cause, but they were disappointed in this, and consequently they soon retreated southward toward Tennessee, closely pursued by the National forces under the general command of General Don Carlos Buell. In the battle of Perryville, October 8, 1862, Bragg made a stand against the pursuing Union army and hurled his army against the troops under Generals McCook and Rousseau, but was defeated and compelled to resume his retreat, carrying his immense booty with him. Each army lost almost four thousand men in this bloody battle. Both Bragg and Kirby Smith abandoned Kentucky and fled into Tennessee about the same time, October, 1862. The Confederate invasion of Kentucky compelled the Union troops to evacuate the important post of Cumberland Gap, in the Cumberland Mountains, at a point where the State lines of Kentucky, Tennessee and Virginia meet.

General Buell pursued the Confederates in their retreat from Kentucky into Tennessee; and late in October, 1862, he was superseded in his command by General Rosecrans, who closed the campaign this year by his dearly-bought victory over Bragg in the battle of Stone River, or Murfreesboro', Tennessee, which commenced on December 31, 1862, and ended on January 2, 1863. Rosecrans had about forty-five thousand men, and Bragg had somewhat more. The Union loss was twelve thousand men, while the Confederate loss was somewhat less. Rose-

Bragg's Advance on Louisville.

Attack on Mumfordsville.

Guerrilla Bands.

Battle of Perryville.

Confederate Retreat from Kentucky

Battle of Murfreesboro.

crans's subordinate generals were McCook, Thomas, Rousseau, Palmer, Hazen, Negley, Sheridan, Crittenden, Jefferson C. Davis and others. Bragg's subordinate generals were Kirby Smith, Breckinridge, Hardee, Polk, Cheatham and others.

**Confederate
Private
ers.**

In 1862 the blockade of the Southern ports by the National navy was made still more effective. The Confederates made great exertions to prepare a navy, and they procured vessels in Europe to prey upon National ships; and the commerce of the United States was almost driven from the seas, except where it was under the protection of armed vessels. The *Oreto* (afterward the *Florida*) and the *Alabama*, both built in England, were permitted by the British government to pass into Confederate hands. As they were unable to enter any Confederate port and were not permitted to take their prizes into any foreign port, they usually burned their captured ships and their cargoes.

**War
with the
Sioux
Indians
in Min-
nesota.**

During the summer of 1862, while the Great Civil War was devastating half the Union, the Sioux Indians in Minnesota, led by Little Crow and other chiefs, began a murderous war on the white people of that State and perpetrated many atrocious massacres, killing more than seven hundred whites and driving about twenty-five thousand from their homes.

**Sioux
Massacre
of
White
People.**

The Indians had been dissatisfied for a long time, especially complaining of the course pursued by the white traders and of the delay of the National government in making the annual payments due them by treaty. The Indians began their outrages on August 17, 1862, when a party of Sioux murdered some whites near the town of Acton; and the next day they indulged in a general massacre of the white settlers on the upper Minnesota river. After defeating the few United States troops sent against them, the Indians perpetrated fiendish massacres throughout the whole western part of Minnesota and also in Iowa and the Territory of Dakota. The savages inflicted every kind of atrocity upon their victims. A fierce attack which the Indians made upon New

**Attack on
New Ulm.**

Ulm, an isolated town of about fifteen hundred inhabitants, was repulsed with difficulty, after which the inhabitants fled from the town. Colonel (afterward General) Henry Hastings Sibley relieved Fort Ridgely after a siege of several days, led an expedition up the Minnesota Valley, defeated Little Crow and his warriors and drove them into Dakota, September, 1862. Several hundred of the savages were captured, and thirty-eight were hanged for their murders.

**Defeat
of the
Indians.**

In the meantime General John Pope was assigned to the command of this department. The next summer (1863) the savages renewed their outrages; but they were hunted down and their chief, Little Crow, was killed; and General Sibley led an expedition in pursuit of the hostile tribes, and drove them across the Missouri river in September, after

**End of
the Sioux
War.**

considerable fighting during a tedious campaign. This was one of the greatest Indian wars in the history of the United States; but it did not attract the attention it deserved from the people, on account of the overshadowing magnitude of the Great Civil War.

Though the National administration refused to adopt the extreme demands of the radical anti-slavery people who cried for the abolition of slavery at the beginning of the struggle, holding that such a policy at that time was premature, yet there were some blows struck against slavery from the very beginning for military reasons.

General Butler refused to restore slaves who had escaped from secessionist owners and had come into his lines, and at another's suggestion he said: "They are contraband of war. Set them at work within our lines." This was the origin of the term *contrabands*, as applied to fugitive slaves who entered the Union lines during the Civil War. By a very remarkable coincidence, this first step toward emancipation was taken where slaves first had been brought into what is now the United States of America. General Butler asked the advice of the Secretary of War as to his course in such a matter, and that Cabinet officer directed the general to continue to pursue the policy which he had adopted in this matter. This heroic measure met with very general approval on the part of the loyal people.

Soon afterward—in this same summer of 1861—Congress passed an act declaring that slaveholders forfeited all claim to slaves employed in aiding insurrection or resistance to the laws of the United States, when a certain Congressman said that "the things to be done are to tax, fight and emancipate."

The logic of events was certain eventually to bring about more decisive action, all this occurring early in the summer of 1861. On August 30, 1861, General Fremont, while in command of the department of Missouri, issued a general order freeing the slaves of "all persons in the State of Missouri who shall take up arms against the United States." President Lincoln directed that this must be "so construed as to conform with, and not to transcend, the provisions on the same subject contained in the act of Congress," a few weeks earlier, by which only such slaves were freed as were themselves employed in aiding insurrection. On May 9, 1862, General David Hunter, while in command of the department of the South, embracing South Carolina, Georgia and Florida, issued an order that "the persons in these States hitherto held as slaves are declared forever free." Hunter's order in this case, like Fremont's the previous year, was also modified by President Lincoln, who asserted: "The supposed proclamation now in question, whether genuine or false, is altogether void. * * * I further make known that whether it be competent for me, as com-

The
Question
of Emancipation.

General
Butler
and the
"Contrabands."

Action of
Congress
in 1861.

Action of
Generals
Fremont
and
Hunter.

President
Lincoln's
Conserv-
ative
Policy.

mander-in-chief of the army and navy, to declare the slaves of any State or States free, and whether at any time or in any case it shall have become a necessity indispensable to the maintenance of the government to exercise such supposed power, are questions which, under my responsibility, I reserve to myself, and which I cannot feel justified in leaving to the decision of commanders in the field." The President went on to state that he had recommended Congress to adopt a joint resolution in March, 1862, and that it had been adopted by large majorities in both branches in April, 1862, declaring it to be the duty of the United States to coöperate, by pecuniary aid, with any State undertaking the gradual abolition of slavery. Here Mr. Lincoln took the early anti-slavery ground in favor of a gradual and compensated emancipation. He asserted that this "now stands as an authentic, definite and solemn proposal of the Nation to the States and people most interested in the subject-matter. To the people of those States, now, I mostly appeal. * * * You cannot, if you would, be blind to the signs of the times."

**Blows at
Slavery
by
Congress.**

As the President observed, these signs of the doom of slavery were very plain. Already had Congress abolished slavery in the District of Columbia on the principle of compensation to the slaveholders, April 16, 1862. The bill received the President's signature, and it became a law on June 16, 1862. Congress soon afterward abolished slavery in the Territories of the United States without compensation, June 19, 1862. This bill was signed by the President the next day. A month later—July 17, 1862—Congress passed an act to seize and confiscate the slaves of persons engaged in rebellion against the United States government, what General Fremont had sought to do in Missouri the year before. The President signed this act also.

**President
Lincoln's
Warning
to the
Confede-
rates.**

But President Lincoln now had in contemplation a greater anti-slavery measure than any of the preceding acts. Early in the summer of 1862 he read to his Cabinet the draft of a proclamation for the emancipation of all the slaves in the seceded States. Secretary of State Seward objected to the time of doing the act, not to the act itself, saying that it should be done after a Union victory. Time went on without bringing victory, but instead a series of disastrous and disheartening defeats, and finally the leading Confederate army had invaded Maryland. Said the President afterwards: "I made a solemn vow before God that if General Lee was driven back from Maryland I would crown the result by the declaration of freedom to the slaves." To a deputation from Chicago, which waited on him on September 13, 1862, to urge immediate emancipation, as if it were their measure, not his, he modestly remarked: "The subject is on my mind by day and by night more than any other. Whatever shall appear to be God's

will that will I do." Five days after General Lee's defeat at Antietam the President issued his proclamation, September 22, 1862, warning the Confederates that if they did not lay down their arms and return to their allegiance to the National government within a hundred days he would proclaim the freedom of the slaves in the rebellious States, except in certain designated sections; the following being the President's warning words: "That on the first day of January, in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and sixty-three, all persons held as slaves within any State, or designated part of a State, the people whereof shall then be in rebellion against the United States, shall be then, thenceforward and forever free; and the executive government of the United States, including the military and naval authority thereof, will recognize and maintain the freedom of such persons."

This preliminary proclamation was very significant. The slaves in the seceded States would be free at the beginning of the next year, and it could not be long before the slaves in the Slave States which had not seceded would be free also. People could see that the day was not far distant when there would be no slave on the soil of the United States. This proclamation did not please all of the President's fellow-citizens. Indeed, for the time being it displeased most of them. It displeased the element who wanted the Union restored with slavery as before, while it also displeased the radical element who wanted immediate emancipation without any grace shown to the revolted slave-holders. In the elections in the loyal States in the fall of 1862 the Republican majorities of the Presidential year 1860 gave place to Democratic majorities against the administration; and there is no doubt that the President's emancipation policy was the most effective agency in bringing about these Democratic victories, though various other causes were assigned, such as the condition of trade and the currency, increasing taxation, the arrests on political charges, the military reverses of the year, etc. Lord Lyons, the British Minister at Washington, wrote home of "a change in public feeling among the most rapid and complete that have ever been witnessed even in this country." In fact, the Union army and navy, or many of the officers and their men, complained that the war for the restoration of the Union should be converted into a war for the abolition of slavery.

As President Lincoln remarked afterward, the good results of emancipation were not so immediate as was expected; but he remained firm, and as the Confederates spurned his warning of September 22, 1862, and in spite of many predictions that the promised proclamation of freedom would not be issued, the memorable New Year's Day, 1863, was signalized by the following *Emancipation Proclamation*, declaring forever free all the slaves in Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina,

Effects
of this
Prelim-
inary
Procla-
mation.

Democ-
ratic
Victories
in 1862

Emanci-
pation
Procla-
mation.

Georgia, Florida, Alabama, Mississippi, Louisiana, Texas and Arkansas, excepting West Virginia and other specified sections. The President's words proclaiming the liberation of the slaves were as follows: "I do order and declare that all persons held as slaves within said designated States and parts of States are and henceforward shall be free. * * * And I hereby enjoin upon the people so declared to be free to abstain from all violence unless in necessary self-defense. * * * And I further declare and make known that such persons, of suitable condition, will be received into the armed service of the United States. * * * And upon this act, sincerely believed to be an act of justice, warranted by the Constitution upon military necessity, I invoke the considerate judgment of mankind and the gracious favor of Almighty God."

**Effects
of this
Procla-
mation.**

This decisive step destroyed the last hope of foreign aid to the Confederates, as the public sentiment of the civilized world was against chattel slavery; the great Republic of the United States, which always had boasted of its civil and political liberty, being the last of the great nations of the world to strike the shackles from the chattel slave. As Great Britain had been the first nation of the world to abolish slavery, she had become the great abolitionist power; and it was said that she had threatened to recognize the Confederacy if the National government did not emancipate the slaves, which led Alexander Hamilton Stephens, the Confederate Vice President, to assert that President Lincoln had been intimidated into adopting his emancipation policy by British threats. At any rate, after the issuance of the Emancipation Proclamation the threats of recognition of the Confederacy and of foreign aid to the Confederates were heard of very little. Though European nations generally sympathized with the Confederates so far as they were fighting for independence, these same nations were opposed most uncompromisingly to the peculiar institution of chattel slavery, which the Confederates were fighting to perpetuate and which was an obstacle to their receiving foreign aid and recognition. The President's proclamation of freedom to the slaves also changed the character of the Great Civil War. Before the Emancipation Proclamation was issued the loyal States fought simply for the restoration of the Union with slavery. After the issuance of that proclamation they fought for the restoration of the Union without slavery. As the Declaration of Independence changed the character of the War of the American Revolution, so the Emancipation Proclamation changed the character of the great American Civil War. As Magna Charta and the Bill of Rights have been the great charters of English liberty, so the Declaration of Independence and the Emancipation Proclamation have been the great charters of American freedom.

Never during the whole period of the Civil War did the cause of the Union appear more gloomy than at the close of 1862. The military power of the Southern Confederacy was as formidable as ever, and very little had been accomplished toward its overthrow. There were about seven hundred thousand National troops in the field, while the Confederate army was larger than at any previous or subsequent period. The repeated calls of the President for volunteers constantly recruited the National armies, and finally in the fall of 1862 a draft was resorted to; but owing to the efforts made to obtain volunteers, especially the high bounties paid by States, counties, cities, towns, townships and individuals to all who would enlist, comparatively few troops were obtained by draft in 1862 or during the war. The Confederate armies were recruited by sweeping conscriptions at various times during the war.

Gloomy Period of the Union.

Recruits and Conscriptions on Both Sides.

Revival of Party Spirit in the Loyal States.

Party spirit had subsided in the Northern States during the first year and a half of the war. The attack on Fort Sumter had the effect of solidly uniting the North, so that there was but one party in the Free States for the time; but after the Confederate successes during the summer of 1862, and the President's proclamation of September 22d, of that year, the Peace Democrats bitterly denounced the policy of the administration in its prosecution of the war, while the War Democrats sustained the administration. Among the most prominent of the War Democrats was Andrew Johnson, of Tennessee, whom the President had appointed Military Governor of that State. Another was Joseph Holt, of Kentucky, a member of Buchanan's Cabinet, whom President Lincoln appointed Judge Advocate General. Party spirit was again extremely violent in the North, and the supporters and opponents of the administration manifested the most bitter hatred of each other and the utmost intolerance of each other's opinions. Various epithets were applied by the opposing parties to their respective opponents, the best known being the epithet "Copperheads," applied to the Anti-War Democrats by the supporters of the war policy of the administration. As we have seen, the reaction against the administration, in consequence of the ill success of the National arms in the campaign of 1862 and of the President's emancipation policy, had the effect of giving a temporary triumph to the Anti-War Democracy in the elections in many of the Northern States in the fall of 1862.

The Epithet "Copperheads."

The National credit was well sustained during the struggle. The National government met the expenses of the war with promptitude, and the Northern people supported those expenses with cheerfulness. Besides the ordinary sources of revenue, recourse was had to direct taxation, to the issue of irredeemable paper money and to various forms of loans. The means of defraying the expenses of the war had become a

The National Finances.

serious question with the National government from the very first. Notwithstanding the prosperity of the Northern people at the beginning of the struggle, this prosperity could not continue while wealth was poured out on every side and while labor was engaged largely on the battlefield. The banks gave the first signal of alarm by suspending specie payments in 1861.

Green-backs and Fractional Currency.

In February, 1862, Congress authorized the issue of one hundred and fifty million dollars of irredeemable United States treasury notes, afterwards issuing four hundred million dollars of this irredeemable paper currency, all this paper money to be legal tender for the payment of all debts. Because the backs of these United States treasury notes were printed with green ink they were called *Greenbacks*. They soon became the principal circulating medium in the Northern States. Silver and gold commanded a premium and soon went out of circulation. Postage stamps and various kinds of tickets and checks passed current as small change until Congress authorized the issue of paper money of denominations of less than a dollar, called *fractional currency*, for general circulation.

National Banks and Their Notes.

The rapid expansion of the irredeemable paper currency produced its inevitable consequences. In order to obviate these effects in a very small degree, Congress established the National Bank system in 1863, by which the banks which hitherto had been State institutions became *National Banks*, and their notes were secured by deposits of United States government bonds at Washington. This new banking system materially improved the circulation, and National Bank notes from all over the loyal States passed current everywhere throughout those States and supplanted other bank paper as a circulating medium, though the value of the currency remained that of paper, irredeemed and irredeemable, and consequently soon declined. It was necessary to have more paper dollars to buy what previously had been bought by gold and silver or by paper redeemable in gold and silver. Accordingly prices advanced, and people of limited incomes found their incomes more limited than ever, some being reduced gradually to poverty, while those who profited by the times acquired wealth suddenly. Thus contracts with the government and the speculation encouraged by the unsettled condition of the money market led to the creation of new fortunes. Many persons made money by dealing in government bonds, of which millions followed millions as loan followed loan.

Jay Cooke.

It was very largely through the efforts of the great Philadelphia banker and financier, Jay Cooke, that the National government was enabled to borrow money to carry on the war for the restoration of the Union; Jay Cooke thus being to the National government during the Civil War what that other eminent Philadelphia financier, Robert

Morris, was to the cause of American independence during the War of the American Revolution.

Secretary of the Treasury Chase thought his operations highly successful; but the price of gold rose to \$1.95 in paper to one dollar in gold in May, 1864, and to \$2.85 in July, 1864, declining thereafter. After Secretary Chase's resignation, in July, 1864, the finances of the National government were managed very ably by his successor, William Pitt Fessenden, of Maine, and also after March 4, 1865, by the latter's successor, Hugh McCulloch, of Indiana. By the close of the war the National debt amounted to three billion dollars, the expenditure then being at the rate of three million dollars daily.

The Gold Premium and the National Debt.

The Confederate credit soon began to depreciate; and cotton, the great staple on which the South depended to meet its foreign obligations, was kept at home by the blockade of its ports by the United States navy. Before the downfall of the Confederacy the Confederate currency had become almost worthless, and Secretary of the Treasury Trenholm's post was a most embarrassing one.

Confederate Credit.

In Virginia, early in 1863, the Confederates under General William Henry Fitzhugh Lee failed in an attempt to capture a National force at Gloucester, opposite Yorktown, early in February; Colonel John Singleton Mosby, the notorious guerrilla chief, captured a small Union force at Fairfax Court House, March 8th; and the Confederate cavalry under Fitzhugh Lee defeated the Union cavalry under General William Woods Averell near Kelly's Ford, on the Rappahannock, in March, each losing almost a hundred men.

Events in Virginia Early in 1863.

On the 27th of January, 1863, General Burnside was relieved of the command of the Army of the Potomac and was succeeded by General Joseph Hooker. Hooker crossed the Rappahannock river, May 1, 1863, for another advance upon Richmond; and on the 2d, 3d and 4th his army engaged in a severe battle with Lee's army at Chancellorsville, about ten miles west of Fredericksburg. Hooker began his advance with every promise of success. His army was about one hundred and twenty-five thousand strong, about twice as large as Lee's army. After sending General George Stoneman's cavalry to cut off Lee's communications with the Confederate capital, Hooker dispatched General John Sedgwick with a part of his army across the Rappahannock near Fredericksburg, and he himself led the main body of his army some miles up the river, where he crossed to Chancellorsville; but he was met and routed by Lee, May 2, 1863. The next morning, May 3, 1863, Hooker was again attacked and defeated by Lee; but in the meantime Sedgwick had carried the heights of Fredericksburg and was threatening Lee's rear. Having worsted Hooker, Lee now fiercely attacked Sedgwick, and after two days' severe fighting drove him back upon the

Burnside Superseded by Hooker.

Battle of Chancellorsville.

Hooker's Defeat.

Rappahannock, which Sedgwick crossed that night. Hooker had put his army in a perilous position by dividing it; but Lee also placed his own victorious army in a like perilous situation by dividing it and sending Jackson with a portion to watch one wing of the Union army, while he himself with the main body watched the other wing of Hooker's forces. The Confederate victory was purchased dearly with the death of the famous general, Stonewall Jackson, himself worth an army to them in the magic of his name. It was believed that he was shot by his own troops by mistake. He was idolized by his troops and by the Southern people. He was intensely religious, and before battle was always found praying in his tent. His only baggage at times was said to have been his Bible and his maps. The Confederate loss amounted to twelve thousand men; while the Union loss was over seventeen thousand men, Generals Berry and Whipple being among the killed. Hooker recrossed the Rappahannock with the remainder of his army on the night of May 5, 1863, and rejoined Sedgwick.

**Death of
Stone-
wall
Jackson.**

**Lee's
Invasion
of Penn-
sylvania.**

**Hooker
Super-
seded by
Meade.**

**Alarm in
Pennsyl-
vania.**

**Pennsyl-
vania
Militia
Called
Out.**

**Lee's
Advance
into
Pennsyl-
vania.**

After the battle of Chancellorsville, Lee's army began to march northward for the purpose of carrying the war into the loyal States. In June, 1863, he moved down the Shenandoah Valley, took Winchester and Martinsburg, crossed the Potomac near Williamsport, Maryland, and advanced into Pennsylvania. Hooker followed with his army on the right flank of the Confederates, in order to save Washington and Baltimore from capture. When Hooker reached Frederick, Maryland, he resigned his command, June 28, 1863; and General George Gordon Meade was appointed to the command of the Army of the Potomac by the War Department.

After the defeat of General Robert Huston Milroy's cavalry near Winchester, Virginia, June 25, 1863, by the Confederates, the utmost alarm spread throughout the Cumberland Valley, in Pennsylvania. There were also cavalry skirmishes and sharp encounters at Beverly Ford and Brandy Station, at Aldie and Middleburg. The rapid advance of the Confederates created the utmost consternation throughout the counties of the southern border of Pennsylvania and aroused great excitement throughout the entire North. Governor Curtin, of Pennsylvania, called out one hundred thousand militia to repel the invasion; and Governor Seymour, of New York, offered fifty thousand militia from that State to assist in driving back the invaders. The calling out of the Pennsylvania militia was in response to the call of President Lincoln summoning the militia from Pennsylvania, Ohio, Maryland and West Virginia to take the field against the invaders.

After crossing the Potomac the Confederates rapidly advanced toward the Susquehanna, and all the fords and ferries along the lower portion of the latter stream were guarded by Pennsylvania militia. It



BATTLE OF GETTYSBURG
Charge of the Pennsylvania Volunteers
From the Painting by Paul Philippoteaux

was evident that a decisive struggle was at hand. At the end of June Lee's forces were in Pennsylvania, scattered at different points. Lee and Longstreet proceeded toward Chambersburg. General Ambrose Powell Hill occupied Chambersburg. General Early occupied York; and a small detachment under General John Brown Gordon marched to Wrightsville, on the Susquehanna, and routed the militia in a short skirmish there, while a bridge crossing the river between that place and Columbia was uselessly burned by the militia in order to prevent the invaders from crossing the river, Sunday night, June 28, 1863. General Ewell, in the meanwhile, pushed down the Cumberland Valley toward Harrisburg, shelled Carlisle three times during the last few days of June and advanced to within a few miles of Pennsylvania's capital, creating intense alarm and excitement. The Union cavalry under General Judson Kilpatrick had a sharp skirmish with the Confederate cavalry under General Stuart, at Hanover, York county, Pennsylvania, June 29, 1863.

Advance
of Con-
federate
Detach-
ments
to the
Susque-
hanna.

The Confederate detachments were finally called in by Lee, who concentrated his army at Gettysburg, the county seat of Adams county, Pennsylvania. There the armies of Meade and Lee, each numbering about eighty thousand men, engaged in a great three days' battle, which was the turning point of the great American Civil War. The battle began on the morning of July 1, 1863, when the First corps of the Union army under the command of General John Fulton Reynolds encountered the Confederate corps under General Ambrose Powell Hill west of Gettysburg. The struggle was suddenly brought about by the unexpected engagement between Buford's cavalry and the Confederate cavalry. General Reynolds was shot dead by a sharpshooter while directing the engagement, and a few days later his remains were taken to his native place, Lancaster, Pennsylvania, where they were interred. He had been General Meade's right-hand man, and his untimely death was sincerely lamented. Strong reinforcements were received in the afternoon, and a terrible conflict was fought for the possession of Seminary Ridge. The conflict raged until four in the afternoon, when the Confederates had the advantage. The National troops were driven from their position, through Gettysburg, to the hills southward, where a new line of battle was formed at nightfall, extending from Round Top to Cemetery Hill and thence to Culp's Hill. The entire National army was moved to that strong position during the night. The Confederate forces were all brought into position on Seminary Ridge and other high grounds, forming a semi-circular line five miles long. The cavalry of both armies hung upon the flanks.

Battle of
Gettys-
burg.

First Day.

Death of
General
Reynolds.

Struggle
on
Seminary
Ridge.

The battle was renewed at four o'clock in the afternoon of the second day, July 2, 1863, and lasted until ten at night. The Confederate

**Second
Day.**

**Struggles
on Round
Top,
Cemetery
Hill and
Culp's
Hill.**

corps under General Longstreet attacked the Union left under General Daniel Edgar Sickles, which was posted on Round Top and Little Round Top; and at six in the evening, after terrible fighting, the National troops still held those strong positions. The Union left center, under General Winfield Scott Hancock, repulsed the assaults of the Confederates with heavy loss, after a most sanguinary struggle. The Union right center, under General Oliver Otis Howard, on Cemetery Hill, was struggling desperately with the Confederate division under General Jubal Early, of Ewell's corps; and the National line was maintained there also at nightfall, in spite of the most desperate Confederate assaults. The Union right, under General Henry Warner Slocum, on Culp's Hill, was somewhat shattered in its fierce struggle with the Confederate division under General Edward Johnson, also of Ewell's corps, which finally captured the works on Slocum's extreme right. When the day's fighting ceased, at ten o'clock at night, the positions of the two armies had not been changed materially. On the Union side Generals Hancock and John Oliver Gibbon were wounded, and General Sickles was so severely wounded in one leg that amputation was necessary. The Confederate General William Barksdale, of Mississippi, was killed, and his dead body was left within the Union lines. During the night both armies prepared to renew the momentous and sanguinary struggle the next day.

**Death of
General
Barks-
dale.**

**Third
Day**

**Terrific
Cannon-
ade.**

**Pickett's
Charge
and Rout.**

**Decisive
Union
Victory.**

The battle was renewed at four o'clock in the morning of the third day, July 3, 1863, and lasted twelve hours. Slocum drove the Confederates out of his lines after a hard fight. At one o'clock in the afternoon Lee began the most terrific cannonade that ever occurred on the American continent, and for two hours the thunders of almost two hundred and fifty pieces of heavy artillery shook the hills about Gettysburg. The Confederate artillerymen, with one hundred and forty-five cannon, concentrated their fire on the center of the National army at Cemetery Hill, producing dreadful havoc and carnage. The Union artillery, embracing about a hundred cannon, replied vigorously to the Confederate fire. When the cannonade ceased, a Confederate column almost three miles in length, led by General George Edward Pickett's Virginians, desperately charged the center of the Union army, but were repulsed with the most terrific carnage, thus ending the battle of Gettysburg in a great and decisive victory for the National army; and Lee was obliged to retreat with his shattered army toward the Potomac. The Confederate General Lewis Addison Armistead was mortally wounded and captured, in leading his troops in the charge on the Union breastworks. In this greatest battle of the Civil War, Lee's army lost almost thirty thousand men, while the National army lost over twenty-three thousand.

Fate
of the
Union
Decided
at
Gettys-
burg.

National
Thanks-
giving.

Lee's
Retreat to
Virginia.

Meade's
Pursuit.

Skir-
mishes
between
Meade's
and Lee's
Armies.

The battle of Gettysburg is regarded as the great and decisive battle of the Civil War, as the fate of the Union was practically decided at Gettysburg, because had Lee triumphed on Northern soil Washington, Baltimore, Philadelphia and New York would all have been at the mercy of the Confederates, and the Southern Confederacy would have been recognized as an independent power. Thus Gettysburg, not Appomattox, decided the fate of the Union, just as Saratoga, not Yorktown, decided the struggle for American independence. The battle of Gettysburg, which rescued the Union and also rescued Pennsylvania from Confederate invasion, was noted for the conspicuous part borne therein by three eminent Pennsylvania commanders—Meade, Reynolds and Hancock. This victory, together with that won by General Grant in the capture of Vicksburg, July 4, 1863, produced the liveliest joy throughout the North; and President Lincoln called upon the loyal people to observe a day of National thanksgiving, praise and prayer, invoking Almighty God "to lead the whole Nation, through paths of repentance and submission to the Divine will, back to the perfect enjoyment of union and fraternal peace."

After the battle of Gettysburg the Confederate army under General Lee, then numbering about fifty thousand men, thoroughly demoralized, made a precipitate flight toward Virginia, closely pursued by the victorious Army of the Potomac under General Meade; and it was not long before both armies again found themselves south of the Potomac. Lee continued his retreat across the Potomac near Williamsport, Maryland, up the Shenandoah Valley, through the passes of the Blue Ridge; and in September he took position south of the Rapidan. Meade pursued, crossed the Potomac near Harper's Ferry, kept east of the Blue Ridge and posted his army about Culpepper and Brandy Station, north of the Rapidan. The two armies thus confronted each other until the next spring, and there were unsuccessful movements on the part of each to out-maneuver the other.

In September, 1863, Lee sent a part of his army under Longstreet to reinforce Bragg in Tennessee; while Meade sent a part of his army under Hooker to reinforce Rosecrans, who was contending with Bragg in that State. In October Lee's army drove the Army of the Potomac back upon Manassas, but in turn was compelled to retreat, after some skirmishing. Severe skirmishes at Rappahannock Station and Kelly's Ford, November 7, 1863, resulted in the capture of two thousand Confederates by a portion of Meade's army under Generals John Sedgwick and William Henry French. Meade next crossed the Rapidan and made feints upon Lee's right, encamped on Mine Run; but as he found Lee's position too strong for successful attack he recrossed the river, and the two armies went into winter-quarters.

Averell's Cavalry Raids.

In the summer of 1863 a Union raiding party struck the Virginia and Tennessee Railway near Wytheville, in the south-western part of Virginia; and a strong Union cavalry force under General William Woods Averell made a raid in the Shenandoah Valley, destroying salt works and other property, but was routed in a two days' fight with Confederate cavalry near White Sulphur Springs, August 26th and 27th. In November he drove most of the Confederate troops from West Virginia; and in December he destroyed fifteen miles of the Virginia and Tennessee Railway at and about Salem, west of Lynchburg.

Capture of Arkansas Post.

The great enterprise in the South-west during 1863 was the opening of the Mississippi river, which task was assigned to General Grant. After Sherman's unsuccessful attack on Vicksburg, Mississippi, at the close of 1862, that general was succeeded in his command by General John Alexander McClernand, who went up the Arkansas river, and, in conjunction with Admiral Porter, captured Arkansas Post with its garrison of five thousand Confederate troops, after a severe engagement on January 11, 1863.

Siege of Vicksburg.

Vicksburg was regarded as impregnable by the Confederates, as it is situated on a high bluff on the east bank of the Mississippi, and as formidable batteries and forts crowned the bluff for miles and completely commanded the river. The Union fleet under Admiral Farragut and the flotilla under Commodore Davis vainly bombarded the city during the spring and early part of the summer of 1862. The Mississippi makes a bend in front of Vicksburg, forming a tongue of land opposite the city. Grant attempted to cut a channel across this tongue, and thus turn the river from its natural course, leaving Vicksburg inland. This attempt failed, as did also attempts to pass round the city and get to its rear.

Grant's Operations.

Toward the close of April, 1863, Grant suddenly marched his army from Milliken's Bend, above Vicksburg, to a point on the river below, while Admiral Porter's gunboats and transports ran past the Confederate batteries at Grand Gulf under cover of the darkness of night. After crossing the river at Bruinsburg, April 30, 1863, Grant, by a succession of rapidly-executed movements, won a series of brilliant victories over the Confederates in May. He defeated General John Clifford Pemberton at Port Gibson, May 1st. On May 8th he was reinforced by Sherman, who had been repulsed in two attempts to capture Haines's Bluff. Grant then marched against the Confederates under General Joseph Eccleston Johnston, at Jackson, Mississippi's capital, and was victorious in the battle of Raymond, May 12th, and in the battle of Jackson, May 14th. Johnston was driven northward, and Grant took Jackson and burned much public property. Grant then defeated Pemberton in the battle of Champion Hill, May 16th, and in

Battles of Port Gibson, Raymond, Jackson, Champion Hill and Big Black River Bridge.

the battle of Big Black River Bridge, May 17th. By these victories Grant compelled the Confederates to evacuate Grand Gulf, prevented the union of the armies of Johnston and Pemberton and drove Pemberton back within the intrenchments of Vicksburg, which was then closely besieged by Grant's victorious army, aided by Admiral Porter's gunboats. Pemberton was a Philadelphian by birth.

Siege of
Vicks-
burg.

Grant's movements were facilitated by a cavalry expedition under Colonel Benjamin Henry Grierson, who made a raid from Lagrange, Tennessee, southward through Mississippi, to Baton Rouge, Louisiana, which he reached May 2, 1863, after having traversed six hundred miles of hostile territory in little more than two weeks, cutting the enemy's communications and destroying railroad bridges, rolling-stock and military supplies. Grierson reported: "The Confederacy is a mere shell." A Confederate force of twenty-five hundred men attacked the Union camp at Milliken's Bend, June 6, 1863, but was repulsed by the garrison, a thousand strong, aided by two gunboats.

Grierson's
Cavalry
Raid.

Battle of
Milliken's
Bend.

Late in May, 1863, the Army of the Mississippi under General Grant, assisted by Admiral Porter's gunboats, completely invested Vicksburg, which was garrisoned by a large Confederate army under General John Clifford Pemberton. For more than six weeks the besiegers kept up an incessant bombardment upon the beleaguered city. Assistance and escape were both impossible to the doomed garrison. Grant was repulsed in two efforts to carry the Confederate works by storm; but the siege was prosecuted with so much vigor that Pemberton asked for an armistice on July 3d, the day of the Confederate rout at Gettysburg, and later in the day the two generals met between the lines to confer about the capitulation of the garrison; and the next morning, July 4, 1863, Pemberton surrendered his whole force, amounting to more than thirty thousand men, and the city of Vicksburg into the hands of Grant. The prisoners were paroled, but the Confederate government placed most of them in its armies again. After that the Unionists refused to parole any prisoners whom they could hold, but sent them to detached stations in the North for confinement until exchanged. Grant's loss from the time of his crossing at Bruinsburg to the fall of Vicksburg was about eight thousand men.

Siege and
Surrender
of Vicks-
burg.

While the siege of Vicksburg was in progress, General Joseph Eccleston Johnston had been hovering in Grant's rear. Immediately after the capture of the city General Sherman went in pursuit of him and drove him back to Jackson and thence eastward. Johnston afterward sent part of his army to reinforce Bragg in Tennessee. Grant likewise sent expeditions to various points on both sides of the Mississippi, to capture Confederate troops or guerrilla parties, to seize Confederate supplies or to cut Confederate communications. While Grant and Sher-

Mov-
ements of
Grant,
Sherman
and Mc-
Pherson.

man led a large portion of the Army of the Mississippi from Vicksburg to East Tennessee, General James Birdseye McPherson was left in command of the remainder, and he continued the work of destroying the enemy's transportation and resources.

**Opening
of the
Missis-
sippi.**

The fall of Port Hudson, four days after that of Vicksburg, opened the Mississippi from its source to its mouth and severed the Confederacy into two parts. General Banks had superseded General Butler in command at New Orleans late in 1862 and sent troops to Galveston, Texas. On New Year's night, 1863, after the Union troops had taken Galveston, the Confederates under General Magruder attacked them by land and water, retook the city, killed or captured the Union garrison of three hundred men and seized some of the government shipping in the harbor.

**Banks's
Opera-
tions in
Louis-
iana.**

During the winter and spring of 1863 General Banks overran Louisiana from New Orleans to the Red River, defeated the Confederates in a number of actions and captured many prisoners, some artillery and much public property. Among the Confederate commanders whom he defeated was General Richard Taylor, son of President Zachary Taylor and brother of Jefferson Davis's first wife. On the 8th of May, Banks entered Alexandria, Louisiana, on the Red River, which city had been captured the previous day by Admiral Porter with his gunboats. Banks then returned to the Mississippi and invested Port Hudson, above Baton Rouge, but was repulsed in two assaults. On July 8, 1863, Port Hudson, with its garrison of five thousand Confederate troops under General Frank Gardner, was surrendered to Banks, thus overcoming the last obstruction to the navigation of the Mississippi river.

**Capture
of Port
Hudson.**

In the meantime the Confederates under General Richard Taylor reoccupied Alexandria and swooped down on the Mississippi and captured the Union garrison at Brashear City, but abandoned that place, with the whole region east of the Atchafalaya, after the fall of Port Hudson.

**Confed-
erate
Move-
ments in
Louis-
iana.**

After the capture of Port Hudson, General Banks sent General William Buel Franklin with an expedition of four thousand troops in transports, aided by four gunboats under Lieutenant Crocker, to take possession of Sabine Pass, Texas; but two of the gunboats surrendered to the Confederates, September 8, 1863, after being disabled in an attack upon the Confederate batteries, manned by about forty Irishmen, each of whom received a silver medal from Jefferson Davis for bravery on this occasion; and Franklin's expedition returned to New Orleans. In October, 1863, Banks sent an expedition of six thousand troops under General Napoleon Jackson Tecumseh Dana by water to break up the vast trade which had been carried on across the Rio Grande, at Brownsville, Texas. Union troops were landed at Brazos Santiago, on the Texas bank of the Rio Grande; and in November of the same

year Brownsville and the Rio Grande thence to its mouth were held by the Union forces, which afterward occupied more than half the coast of Texas.

In Missouri and Arkansas the Confederates were active and restless during 1863, but accomplished very little. General John Sappington Marmaduke with a Confederate force invaded South-western Missouri from Arkansas, but was repulsed in his attacks upon Springfield, January 8th, and Hartville, January 11th, and was driven back into Arkansas. In April, Marmaduke made another raid into Missouri, this time invading the south-eastern part of the State with eight thousand men; but he was repulsed in his attack upon Cape Girardeau, on the Mississippi river, April 26th, by Union troops under General McNeill and was again driven back into Arkansas.

Confederate Raids in Missouri.

Two thousand Confederates were repulsed in an attack on a Union force under Colonel Benjamin Harrison at Fayetteville, in North-western Arkansas, April 18th, and were driven over the Ozark mountains. A force of Texans and Creek Indians were repulsed in an attack on a Union wagon-train near Fort Blunt, July 1st, and General Blunt defeated six thousand Confederates under General Cooper at Honey Springs, July 17th. The Confederates under General Theophilus Hunter Holmes were repulsed in an attack upon the Union force under General Benjamin Mayberry Prentiss, at Helena, Arkansas, on the Mississippi river, July 4, 1863, the day of the capture of Vicksburg and Lee's retreat from Gettysburg. General Blunt took Fort Smith, in North-western Arkansas, September 1st; and another Union force under General Frederick Steele captured Little Rock, the capital of Arkansas, September 10, 1863, thus completely breaking the power of the Confederates in that State, in which the National authority was thus restored.

Operations in Arkansas.

Guerrilla bands in the meantime had been active in Western Arkansas; and three hundred guerrillas under the notorious Quantrell sacked the town of Lawrence, Kansas, massacred one hundred and forty of the inhabitants, burned almost two hundred buildings and carried away or destroyed two million dollars' worth of property, August 13th. The guerrillas were pursued and some were slain, while Jeff Thompson was captured. A Confederate force of twenty-five hundred men under Generals Shelby and Coffey made a raid from Arkansas into Missouri, and reached Booneville, on the Missouri river, October 1st, but were quickly driven back into Arkansas by Generals McNeill and Brown. Marmaduke was repulsed by Colonel Powell Clayton in an attack on Pine Bluff, Arkansas, October 25th.

Capture of Helena, Fort Smith and Little Rock.

In Kentucky the Union force under General Quincy Adams Gillmore routed the Confederates near Somerset, March 30, 1863. About the

Guerrilla Sacking of Lawrence, Kansas.

Confederate Raid in Missouri.

**Morgan's
Guerrilla
Raid in
Ohio and
Indiana.**

time of Lee's invasion of Pennsylvania about three thousand guerrillas, under General John Hunt Morgan, made a daring raid through Kentucky and suddenly crossed the Ohio river into Indiana, at Brandenburg, and advanced eastward into Ohio, plundering or destroying property as they went. The Indiana and Ohio militia took the field to repel the invaders; and General Burnside, then in command in East Tennessee, sent a detachment in pursuit of them. Earnest preparations for defense were made at Cincinnati, that city again being placed under martial law. Morgan attempted to recross the Ohio river near Pomeroy, but was driven back. After many of the raiders had been killed or captured, Morgan surrendered with the remainder, numbering about eight hundred men, to General James M. Shackelford, in Morgan county, Ohio, July 26, 1863.

**Operations
in
North
Carolina.**

In Eastern North Carolina, during the spring of 1863, the National forces under the command of General John Gray Foster repelled the assaults of the Confederates under General Daniel Harvey Hill and others and foiled their attempts to obtain the entire control of that region. Foster repulsed Hill's attacks upon Newbern in March and upon Washington in April. Early in May the Confederates under Generals Longstreet and Daniel Harvey Hill were repulsed in an attempt to take by siege the town of Suffolk, in South-eastern Virginia, by the garrison of fourteen thousand National troops under General John James Peck, who were assisted by Union gunboats.

**Siege of
Charleston.**

During the spring and summer of 1863 the National army and navy under General Quincy Adams Gillmore and Admiral John Adolph Dahlgren were vigorously besieging Charleston, in South Carolina. The Union navy was repulsed in attacks upon Fort McAllister, at the mouth of the Savannah river, early in the year. On April 7, 1863, an unsuccessful assault was made on Fort Sumter, by the National navy under Admiral Dupont, whose fleet of two iron-clads and seven monitors was repulsed, after a forty minutes' struggle with Fort Sumter and its encircling fortresses and batteries. In July a National land force under General Gillmore landed on Morris Island and commenced besieging the works which defended Charleston harbor, while Admiral Dahlgren took charge of the National fleet which acted in coöperation with Gillmore's land force. Unsuccessful assaults were made on Fort Wagner on July 11 and 19, 1863, in the last of which General George Crockett Strong was mortally wounded and Colonel Robert Gould Shaw, of the Fifty-fourth Massachusetts, a colored regiment, was killed.

**Bombard-
ment of
Fort
Sumter.**

Late in August, after a frightful bombardment of seven days, Fort Sumter was reported by Gillmore as being reduced to "a shapeless and harmless mass of ruins." It was not harmless, however, as it successfully bid defiance to the guns of the besieging forces until near the end

**Capture
of Fort
Wagner.**

of the war. Fort Wagner was evacuated by its Confederate garrison, September 7, 1863, after which it was taken possession of by the National troops. The siege of Charleston was continued for a year and a half longer. An attack on Fort Sumter was repulsed with great loss, September 8, 1863. Charleston harbor was closed to blockade-runners by these destructive operations.

Tennessee was the theater of important events during 1863. As the Army of the Potomac, under the successive commands of Generals Hooker and Meade, and the Army of the Mississippi, under General Grant, one thousand miles distant from each other, occupied the attention of the Nation during the first half of the year, so the Army of the Cumberland, under General Rosecrans—the third great Union army during 1863—conducted the most important campaign during the last half of the year. As we have seen, that army won the great battle of Murfreesboro, or Stone River, during the last day of 1862 and the first two days of 1863.

Army
of the
Cumber-
land.

Before Rosecrans opened his campaign in the summer of 1863 there were frequent raids, expeditions and reconnoisseances of minor importance from both armies. Early in February, 1863, a Confederate detachment was repulsed in an assault upon Fort Donelson. Two thousand Union troops, under Colonel Coburn, were surrounded by a greatly-superior force of Confederates under General Earl Van Dorn at Spring Hill, March 5th, and after a severe conflict more than two-thirds of Coburn's men were captured. Soon afterward a Union detachment under General Philip Henry Sheridan drove Van Dorn back to his encampment on the Duck river. Two weeks later Colonel Hall, while on a reconnaissance, defeated the Confederate General John Hunt Morgan near Milton. Late in April, Colonel Streight led sixteen hundred Union troops on a raid into Northern Georgia, proceeding as far as Cedar Bluff, where he was compelled to surrender to the Confederate cavalry under General Nathan Bedford Forrest.

Raids and
Expedi-
tions in
Tennes-
see and
Georgia.

After his great victory over Bragg at Murfreesboro, Rosecrans remained at that place until the latter part of June, 1863; while Bragg, after his defeat, retreated southward and posted his army at Tullahoma and along the Duck river. In the latter part of June, Rosecrans began a decisive campaign. After a series of conflicts, during a brief campaign of nine days, Bragg's army was compelled to retreat over the Cumberland Mountains, to Chattanooga, in the south-eastern part of Tennessee. The Confederates erected strong fortifications at Chattanooga; but when Rosecrans approached, in August, and threatened Bragg's communications with the South, the Confederate army evacuated the city, which was taken possession of by a portion of Rosecrans' army on September 9th.

Confed-
erate
Retreat
to and
Evacua-
tion of
Chatta-
nooga.

Pursuit by Rosecrans.

Leaving a detachment to occupy Chattanooga, Rosecrans again pursued Bragg, who was now reinforced by General James Longstreet and his corps from Lee's army in Virginia, by some of General Joseph Eccleston Johnston's troops from Mississippi, by General Simon Bolivar Buckner from East Tennessee and by some of the Confederate troops who had been taken prisoners at Vicksburg and Port Hudson and paroled, thus increasing his army to seventy thousand men, while Rosecrans had only fifty-five thousand.

Battle of Chickamauga.

The Confederate army, thus strengthened, suddenly attacked the pursuing army of Rosecrans at the Chickamauga creek, in Northern Georgia, where a bloody battle was fought on September 19 and 20, 1863. The Confederates were victorious; and the National army was obliged to fall back and seek refuge behind the fortifications of Chattanooga, about ten miles from the battlefield. General George Henry Thomas's corps alone held its ground and saved the Union army from total annihilation, General Thomas thus acquiring the title of "the Rock of Chickamauga." In this engagement General James Abram Garfield, of Ohio, acquitted himself nobly. Rosecrans lost more than sixteen thousand men, and the Confederate loss was more than eighteen thousand.

Grant's Preparations to Rescue the Army of the Cumberland.

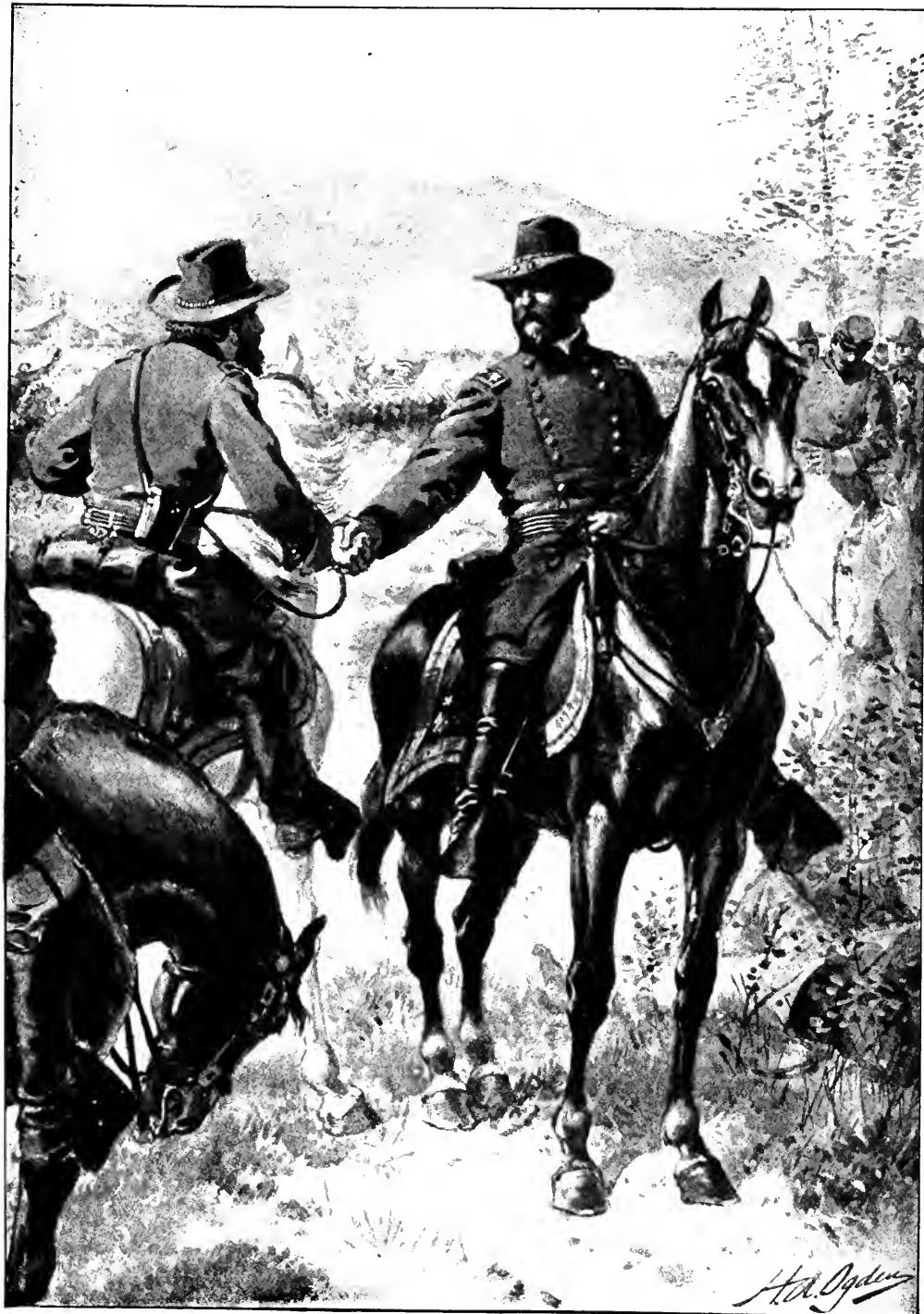
After his defeat in the battle of Chickamauga, Rosecrans was in a perilous situation. General Grant, who had just been intrusted with the command of all the National armies in the West east of the Mississippi, hastened to his relief, at the instance of the National government. Grant's previous command devolved on General William Tecumseh Sherman, while Rosecrans was superseded in his command by General

George Henry Thomas, who was soon reinforced by Sherman from Vicksburg and by Hooker from the Army of the Potomac; but the entire army was now under the direction of General Grant in person. Bragg weakened his army by sending Longstreet with his corps to besiege Burnside in Knoxville.

Battle of Chattanooga.

After being joined by Sherman and Hooker, Grant, in chief command of the Union army at Chattanooga, attacked Bragg's army, which was posted from the Tennessee river above Chattanooga, along Missionary Ridge, across the Chattanooga Valley and Lookout Mountain, and westward to the Tennessee river below the city. After driving the Confederates back from the river, south of Chattanooga, thus opening a free passage for his supplies, he prepared for a general advance against his foe, whom he attacked on November 23, 1863, whereupon a sanguinary conflict of three days followed, known as the battle of Chattanooga.

The first day's fighting resulted in the capture of the strong Confederate works on Orchard Knob by General Thomas. The next day



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THOMAS AT CHICKAMAUGA, SEPTEMBER 20, 1863

H.A. Ogden



(November 24th) Sherman seized a position on the Confederate right, above Chattanooga, while on the left Hooker scaled the heights of Lookout Mountain, and after a struggle up its rugged sides, known as "the battle above the clouds," drove the Confederates from the summit. On the third day of the battle (November 25th) Sherman opened the attack on Missionary Ridge; and finally the whole Union army scaled the steep mountain in the face of a deadly fire from the Confederates, who were driven from their intrenchments after the most obstinate resistance, thus raising the siege of Chattanooga and gaining a brilliant victory for the National army. Considering the natural strength of Bragg's position, the Union victory in this instance is almost without a parallel in history. The Union loss in killed and wounded was over five thousand. The Confederate loss in killed and wounded was less, but they lost more than six thousand as prisoners. Bragg's defeated and shattered army retreated into Georgia, and the whole of Tennessee fell into the possession of the National forces. Hooker pursued the fleeing foe and attacked them in a strong position at Ringgold, Georgia, November 27th, and suffered great loss; but the enemy were forced to retreat.

In the spring of 1863 General Burnside was appointed to command the Union forces in East Tennessee, where he was welcomed joyfully by the Unionists of that region. He occupied Knoxville, September 1st, the Confederates under General Buckner retreating on his approach, to join Bragg at Chattanooga. A few days later Burnside seized Cumberland Gap with its Confederate garrison of two thousand men. About the middle of November, 1863, Burnside was besieged in Knoxville by General Longstreet, who had been sent with his corps from Bragg's army for the purpose of expelling the National forces from that quarter. When Sherman came with troops for the relief of Burnside's beleaguered force, Longstreet, after being repulsed in a desperate assault, fled eastward and rejoined Lee's army in Virginia.

On the 20th of June, 1863, West Virginia was admitted into the Union as a State, by authority of an act passed by Congress on December 31, 1862. The military operations in this new State during 1863 were of minor importance, as the Confederate forces were driven from its soil, and they entered it again only as raiders. The last considerable action in West Virginia occurred in November, 1863, near the Greenbriar river, where the Confederates were defeated by a Union force under General William Woods Averell.

In 1863 there were almost forty thousand men in the United States navy. Most of these were employed in squadrons to enforce the blockade of the Southern ports and assist the land forces of the Union, but many served in smaller squadrons and single ships watching in various

Its
Three
Days
Contin-
uance.

Capture
of
Orchard
Knob,
Lookout
Mountain
and
Mission-
ary
Ridge.

Burn-
side's
Occupa-
tion of
Knoxville
and Cum-
berland
Gap.

Siege of
Knox-
ville.

Admis-
sion of
West
Virginia.

Raids
Therein.

Blockade
and
Prizes.

quarters for Confederate privateers. The blockade was so effective that enormous prices were paid for cargoes in Southern ports, and some English merchants were tempted to build swift steamers for blockade-running. During the year more than three hundred prizes, about one-third of which were steamers, were taken by the National navy. Late in February the monitor *Montauk*, under Commander John Lorimer Worden, approached close to Fort McAllister and destroyed the Confederate privateer *Nashville*, which had been lying under the guns of the fort for several months, watching for an opportunity to run the blockade. The monitor *Weehawken*, under Captain John Rodgers, captured the Confederate iron-clad ram *Atlanta* on the coast of Georgia, June 17, 1863. The ram had steamed down the Savannah river to attack the Union fleet, and was compelled to haul down her flag within fifteen minutes after the monitor opened fire.

Destru-
cation of
the Nash-
ville.

Capture
of the
Atlanta.

Great
Britain
and Con-
federate
Cruisers.

The relations of the National government with Great Britain were again threatening. Iron steamers built at Liverpool and Glasgow were easily converted into Confederate cruisers and employed against United States merchantmen. One called the *Oreta*, afterwards the *Florida*, was armed at Mobile; but most of these vessels never entered a Confederate port, being equipped like the *290*, afterwards the *Alabama*, which sailed to the Azores, where its armament came from one British vessel and its crew from another. These sea rovers usually raised the British flag when they approached a vessel, after which they hoisted the Confederate flag and used British guns and British gunners to capture or destroy the American merchantmen. All this had been going on for a year, exciting the greatest indignation among American merchants and the Northern people; and finally two iron-clad rams, the most powerful ships that could be built, were in construction at the same ship-yard which had sent out the *Alabama*, and their destination was surmised very easily. Minister Adams had exerted his utmost to prevent the sailing of these cruisers, and he now endeavored to prevent the sailing of the rams. When Earl Russell, the British Secretary of Foreign Affairs, told Mr. Adams that the British government could not interfere, the American Minister wrote on September 5, 1863, thus: "It would be superfluous for me to point out that this is war." By assuming so decided an attitude Minister Adams carried his point, and the Confederate rams were detained.

Confed-
erate
Priva-
teers
Alabama
and
Florida.

Confederate privateers did much damage in 1863 among merchant vessels and among New England fishermen. Early in the year the *Alabama* and the *Florida* cruised near the West Indies until the vigilance of Commodore Charles Wilkes made that region uncomfortable for them. The *Alabama* continued her depredations in the South Atlantic, while the *Florida* boldly approached New York city and then prowled

on the track on the New York and Liverpool packets. The Confederates captured the schooner *Archer*, a fishing vessel, and anchored her off the harbor of Portland, Maine; and two boats' crews from the vessel rowed into the harbor, boarded the revenue cutter *Caleb Cushing*, overpowered her crew and put to sea with her. The next day she was pursued by two merchant steamers, the *Forest City* and the *Chesapeake*, manned by soldiers and volunteers. As the steamers approached the revenue cutter the Confederates set her on fire and attempted to escape in boats, but were soon captured. In December the *Chesapeake*, while on her way from New York to Portland, was seized by a party of Confederates who had boarded the vessel as passengers; but the captured vessel was pursued into a harbor of Nova Scotia by United States vessels and was soon restored to her owners by the Nova Scotia authorities.

Confederate
Private
Teers in
Northern
Waters.

On the 4th of March, 1863, the Thirty-seventh Congress closed its last session, after having adopted measures for the efficiency of the army. Steps were taken for the enlistment and organization of colored troops; and on March 3, 1863, a conscription act became a law. On May 8th President Lincoln ordered a draft of three hundred thousand men. Much opposition was manifested against the draft, both openly and secretly, especially in New York city, where a terrible riot of three days occurred, July 13, 14 and 15, 1863, during which the city was practically in a condition of anarchy. Governor Horatio Seymour—a Peace Democrat who had been elected during the Democratic tidal wave of 1862—stood on the steps of the City Hall, calling the rioters his friends and telling them that he had sent his Adjutant-General to Washington “to have the draft stopped.” One hundred lives were lost; three hundred persons were wounded, and property to the value of two million dollars was destroyed. Many buildings were pillaged and burned, among them the Colored Orphan Asylum. The mob’s fury was directed especially against colored people and their property, and most of the victims and sufferers were colored persons. As the city militia had gone to aid in driving Lee from Pennsylvania, order was not restored for four days by the police and the rapidly-gathering militia. Disorders occurred elsewhere, which threatened to become general.

Colored
Troops
and the
Draft.

Riot in
New
York
City.

The Fifty-fourth Massachusetts—which fought so bravely at Fort Wagner—was the first Union regiment of colored troops recruited from the North. Those of the South had commenced to enlist in South Carolina and Louisiana in 1862, and Congress authorized the President to accept their services in July of that year; but they did not generally enter the National army fully on any very large scale until after the issuance of the Emancipation Proclamation, January 1, 1863. Though they were willing to enter the National armies they were

Colored
Troops.

hindered to a great extent both by their own habitual submission and by the inveterate prejudices of their white fellow-countrymen. The Fifty-fourth Massachusetts was sent from Boston by sea, in order to avoid any possible indignities in the streets of New York and other cities. Many of their white fellow-soldiers avoided them, many treating them as inferiors, who might share in the hardships of war, but not in its honors. These feelings gradually yielded before the great qualities displayed by the colored troops. President Lincoln wrote in August, 1863, as follows: "There will be black men who will remember that with silent tongue and clinched teeth and steady eye and well-poised bayonet, they have helped on." The wrath of the Confederates displayed itself in threats and finally in cruel massacres, as that of Fort Pillow, which we shall notice presently.

President Lincoln's Amnesty Proclamation.

During 1863 there were several calls for troops by the National government. The Confederate armies were recruited under the stringent conscription acts of the Confederate Congress. In the fall of 1863 President Lincoln issued an Amnesty Proclamation, pardoning such Confederates as returned to their allegiance, excepting the secession leaders and such army and navy officers as had deserted the National flag. Under this Amnesty Proclamation efforts were made to establish Union State governments in Arkansas and Louisiana. The Unionists of the South were looked upon by the Confederates as traitors, and consequently were subjected to harsh and rigorous treatment, such as arbitrary arrest and imprisonment. President Lincoln's Emancipation Proclamation was denounced fiercely in the Confederate Congress and throughout the South, and dire vengeance was threatened against slaves who deserted their masters or joined the Union armies. Nevertheless thousands of slaves entered the military service of the United States government.

Persecution of Southern Unionists.

The peace faction of the Democracy had been intensely active during 1863 and tried their utmost to make the war unpopular in the North. They denounced the war policy of the administration, the emancipation of the negroes, the draft, arbitrary arrests and the suspension of the habeas corpus. Their conduct and actions caused the National authorities to resort to arbitrary arrests, the writ of habeas corpus having been suspended under the Constitutional provision for that purpose in time of rebellion; the President having taken such action on August 19, 1863, by authority of an act of Congress passed on March 3, 1863. One of their prominent leaders, Clement Laird Vallandigham, of Ohio, formerly a member of Congress, was arrested and sent into the Confederate lines, whence he went into exile in Canada. He was the peace candidate for Governor of Ohio in 1863, but was defeated by one hundred and one thousand majority by John Brough, a War Democrat,

Clement Laird Vallandigham.

who also was supported by the Republicans. The Knights of the Golden Circle were believed to be meditating revolution in the Middle and Western States.

On November 19, 1863, a part of the Gettysburg battlefield was dedicated as the burial-place of those who had lost their lives there in defense of the Union. President Lincoln was present on the occasion, and after the ceremonies had been performed and after Edward Everett had delivered his oration the President uttered a short address consecrating the living to the great task left by the dead heroes. This address has since become famous, being framed and hung up in Oxford University, in England, as a classic, and is as follows:

His
Address
There.

"Fourscore and seven years ago our fathers brought forth upon this continent a new nation, conceived in liberty and dedicated to the proposition that all men are created equal. Now we are engaged in a great civil war, testing whether that nation or any nation so conceived and so dedicated can long endure. We are met on a great battlefield of that war. We are met to dedicate a portion of it as the final resting-place of those who here gave their lives that that nation might live. It is altogether fitting and proper that we should do this. But in a larger sense we cannot dedicate, we cannot consecrate, we cannot hallow this ground. The brave men, living and dead, who struggled here have consecrated it far above our power to add or detract. The world will little note nor long remember what we say here, but it can never forget what they did here. It is for us, the living, rather to be dedicated here to the unfinished work they have thus far so nobly carried on. It is rather for us to be here dedicated to the great task remaining before us, that from these honored dead we take increased devotion to the cause for which they gave the last full measure of devotion; that we here highly resolve that these dead shall not have died in vain, that the nation shall, under God, have a new birth of freedom, and that the government of the people, by the people and for the people shall not perish from the earth."

The progress of the National armies during the year 1863 had been very great. The Nation's birthday was signalized by the surrender of Helena and Vicksburg and Lee's retreat from Gettysburg. The Confederates had been foiled in their invasions of Pennsylvania and the States north of the Ohio river. Missouri, Arkansas, Kentucky, Tennessee, large portions of Florida, Mississippi and Louisiana, and the control of the Rio Grande and Mississippi rivers, had been lost to the Confederates. The Union troops maintained a foothold in every seceded State, and the power of the Confederacy was on the wane.

The year 1864 opened with many bright and promising hopes for the National cause. The National armies were strong and well disciplined,

President
Lincoln
at the
Gettys-
burg
Dedica-
tion.

His
Address
There.

National
Gains in
1863.

Decline
of the
Confed-
eracy.

Bright
Union
Hopes
at the
Opening
of 1864.

President
Lincoln's
Address
to a
Working-
men's
Commit-
tee.

Confed-
erate
Warships
Built in
England.

Lord
Lyons's
Remon-
strance to
Jefferson
Davis.

while the finances of the Republic were in a good condition. The Northern people were more united in the support of the administration and in the determination to prosecute the war until the Union was restored. The National armies at the beginning of the year numbered about eight hundred thousand men. The Confederate armies consisted of about half that number.

On the night of March 18, 1864, a committee from the Working-men's Democratic Republican Association of New York city called upon President Lincoln at the White House and received from him an address, of which the following are extracts:

"Monarchy is sometimes hinted at as a possible refuge from the power of the people. In my present position I could scarcely be justified were I to omit raising my voice against this approach of returning despotism. It is not needed or fitting here that a general argument should be made in favor of popular institutions; but there is one point, with its connections, not so hackneyed as most others, to which I ask a brief attention. It is the effort to place *capital* on an equal footing with, if not above, *labor* in the structure of the government. It is assumed that labor is available only in connection with capital; that nobody labors unless somebody else owning capital somehow, by the use of it, induces him to labor. * * * Labor is prior to and independent of capital. Capital is only the fruit of labor and never could have existed if labor had not first existed. Labor is the superior of capital and deserves much the higher consideration. * * * A few men own capital, and that few avoid labor themselves, and with that capital hire or buy another few to labor for them."

We already have alluded to the building of Confederate vessels in England and the damage they inflicted upon American commerce. These vessels were built by Laird, a shipbuilder at Liverpool and a member of British Parliament, and by other British shipbuilders. In 1864 three other large cruisers were built in England for the Confederates—the *Tallahassee*, the *Olustee* and the *Chickamauga*. The *Tallahassee* destroyed more than thirty vessels on the coasts of the Northern States.

But the British government now protested to the Confederate authorities against the building of any more Confederate privateers in England. On April 1, 1864, Lord Lyons, the British Minister at Washington, by permission of the United States government, forwarded to Jefferson Davis a letter from Earl Russell, the British Secretary of Foreign Affairs, which contained the following: "Under these circumstances, Her Majesty's government protests and remonstrates against any further efforts being made on the part of the so-called Confederate States, or the authorities or agents thereof, to build

or cause to be built, or to purchase or cause to be purchased, any such vessels as those styled ‘rams,’ or any other vessels to be used for war purposes against the United States, or against any country with which the United Kingdom is at peace or on terms of amity; and Her Majesty’s government further protests and remonstrates against all acts in violation of the neutrality laws of the realm.”

These words from the British Secretary of Foreign Affairs aroused the indignation of the Confederate leaders to the highest pitch; and Jefferson Davis instructed one of his assistants (Burton N. Harrison) to reply that it “would be inconsistent with the dignity of the position he (Davis) fills as Chief Magistrate of a nation comprising a population of more than twelve millions, occupying a territory many times larger than the United Kingdom and possessing resources unsurpassed by those of any other country on the face of the globe, to allow the attempt of Earl Russell to ignore the actual existence of the Confederate States and to contemptuously style them ‘so-called,’ to pass without a remonstrance. The President, therefore, does protest and remonstrate against this studied insult; and he instructs me to say that in future any document in which it may be repeated will be returned unanswered and unnoticed.” The same scribe added: “Were, indeed, Her Majesty’s government sincere in a desire and a determination to maintain neutrality, the President would not but feel that they would neither be just nor gallant to allow the subjugation of a nation like the Confederate States by such a barbarous, despotic race as are now attempting it.”

In the meantime the United States was threatened with a new source of danger in the shape of the most open and brazen attack on the Monroe Doctrine ever made by any European power, the aggressor in this instance being the Emperor of the French, Napoleon III., who took advantage of the preoccupation of the United States, whose hands were tied by the Great Civil War within her own domain. In the very first year of the Civil War—December, 1861—France, Great Britain and Spain sent a combined expedition to Mexico with the ostensible object of compelling the payment of claims due French, British and Spanish subjects. Upon receiving satisfaction from the Mexican Republic, in 1862, Great Britain and Spain withdrew their military forces from Mexico; but the Emperor Napoleon III. retained his expeditionary troops in Mexico for the purpose of overthrowing the Mexican Republic and establishing a Latin empire in Mexico under his protection. The French arms soon prevailed, Puebla being captured in May, 1863, and the city of Mexico in June, 1863; and the Emperor of the French offered the throne of Mexico to the Archduke Maximilian, brother of the Emperor Francis Joseph of Austria, who

Davis's
Indignant
Reply.

French
Occupation
of
Mexico.

arrived in Mexico in June, 1864, to begin his reign as Emperor of that unhappy country.

The French Emperor's Hostility to the Union and the Monroe Doctrine.

The French Emperor's action in this instance could not help but convince the Union people of the United States that he was their enemy, as he thus had taken advantage of their desperate situation to strike a hard blow at the Monroe Doctrine, and as he had endeavored on a few occasions to induce Great Britain to join him in also striking an effective blow at the Union by recognizing the independence of the Confederate States of America. He never would have exposed his troops or his government in a Mexican expedition but for the Civil War in the United States and the consequent threatened dissolution of the Union, as his sympathy with the Southern Confederacy showed very clearly.

Franco-American Relations.

Resolutions were offered twice in the United States Senate declaring the French military occupation of Mexico an act of unfriendliness to the United States, but the Senate would not debate these resolutions. On April 4, 1864, the United States House of Representatives passed a resolution "that it does not accord with the policy of the United States to acknowledge a monarchical government in America under the auspices of any European power." The French Minister at Washington at once demanded an explanation from Secretary of State Seward, while United States Minister Dayton in Paris was asked by the French Minister of Foreign Affairs whether he brought peace or war. The French government professed to be satisfied with the representations that it received from the United States government, but the danger of a rupture between France and the United States existed so long as the French military occupation of Mexico continued.

Sherman's and Smith's Raids in Mississippi.

On the 3d of February, 1864, General William Tecumseh Sherman, with twenty-five thousand National troops, started from Vicksburg on a destructive invasion of Mississippi, advancing eastward to Meridian, an important railroad center near the border of Alabama, destroying many miles of railroad, with its bridges, depots and rolling stock, and much other property, and liberating about ten thousand slaves. During his raid Sherman had frequent skirmishes with the Confederate troops under General Leonidas Polk, whose force was too feeble to offer any effective resistance. Sherman waited a week, expecting to be joined by a coöperating force under General William Sooy Smith from Memphis, Tennessee. Smith advanced as far southward as Columbus, Mississippi, also destroying much property; but when he found a large Confederate force under General Forrest ready to oppose him he returned to Memphis, carrying several thousand negroes with him. After burning Meridian, Sherman returned to Vicksburg.

Late in March, 1864, about five thousand Confederate cavalry under General Forrest made a rapid raid through Western Tennessee and Kentucky to the Ohio river. Forrest captured Union City, Tennessee, with its garrison of almost five hundred men, on March 24th; and the next day he attacked Paducah, Kentucky, but was repulsed by the Union garrison under Colonel Hicks. On April 12th Forrest assailed Fort Pillow, Tennessee. The fort was garrisoned by almost six hundred Union troops under Major Booth, almost half of whom were negroes. The garrison, aided by the gunboat *New Era*, commanded by Captain Marshall, successfully resisted the assailants, until Forrest, under cover of a flag of truce, secretly placed his troops in ravines near by, whence they carried the fort by assault. The Union garrison's offer of surrender was not respected, and a frightful massacre followed. The Union troops threw down their arms and tried to escape, but were shot down, amid the curses of Forrest's men, who shouted: "Shoot them! Kill the damned niggers!" The slaughter was renewed the next day, until most of the garrison had been massacred, the colored troops being put to the sword for being black and the white troops being slaughtered for being the comrades of the blacks.

Forrest's
Raid in
Tennes-
see and
Ken-
tucky.

Massacre
of Fort
Pillow.

A considerable National force under General Sturgis marched from Memphis in pursuit of Forrest, but was defeated by Forrest in the battle of Guntown, Mississippi, June 10, 1864, and compelled to retreat in great haste back to Memphis, a distance of about seventy-five miles. Another expedition, consisting of about twelve thousand National troops under General Andrew Jackson Smith, defeated Forrest at Tupelo, Mississippi, July 14, 1864. In August, Forrest made a raid into Memphis, but after seizing and destroying much property he was compelled to retreat. Later in the year there were Union raiding expeditions in Mississippi, as will be noticed.

Battles of
Guntown
and
Tupelo.

Forrest's
Raid into
Memphis.

Early in 1864 General Banks, who still commanded at New Orleans, organized an expedition, known as the *Red River Expedition*, for the invasion of North-western Louisiana. In this expedition Admiral Porter's fleet and a part of Sherman's army from Vicksburg under General Andrew Jackson Smith coöperated with Banks, as did also the National force under General Frederick Steele from Little Rock, Arkansas. The force under General Smith left Vicksburg early in March for the invasion of the Red River region of Louisiana, captured Fort de Russey on the 14th and was then transported up the Red River to Alexandria, which he reached two days later and which already had been taken possession of by Admiral Porter.

Red
River
Expedi-
tion.

Capture
of
Fort de
Russey.

At Alexandria, Smith was joined by Banks with the main army of the expedition from New Orleans; and the united armies, twenty thousand strong, under the command of Banks, marched against Shreveport,

Advance
against
Shreve-
port.

while Admiral Porter sailed up the river to coöperate with Generals Banks and Andrew Jackson Smith in the operations against Shreveport and against the Confederate forces under Generals Edmund Kirby Smith and Richard Taylor. The National forces had occasional skirmishes with the retreating Confederates; and Banks's advance was defeated by the Confederates under General Richard Taylor at Sabine Cross-Roads, near Mansfield, Louisiana, on April 8th; but on the same day another part of his army under General William Hemsley Emory repulsed the Confederates at Pleasant Grove. That night Banks fell back fifteen miles to Pleasant Hill, where he was joined by Smith and where the united forces were assailed fiercely by the Confederates the next day, April 9th, but won a victory. The victorious National army, however, continued its retreat toward Alexandria, but was again victorious at Cane River, April 21st. The expedition reached Alexandria on April 27th, and it was resolved to return to the Mississippi.

**Battles of
Sabine
Cross-
Roads,
Pleasant
Grove,
Pleasant
Hill and
Cane
River.**

Banks's defeat at Sabine Cross-Roads also compelled Admiral Porter's fleet to return to Alexandria, but when it arrived the water had fallen so low that the vessels could not pass the rapids at that place. This difficulty was overcome by the engineering skill of Lieutenant-Colonel Joseph Bailey, of Wisconsin, who constructed dams in the channel of the river, thus raising the water high enough to enable the fleet to pass. In this Red River expedition the National forces lost five thousand men and the Confederates lost about as many more. Some of the Union gunboats and transports were destroyed or fell into the possession of the Confederates before Admiral Porter returned to the Mississippi river.

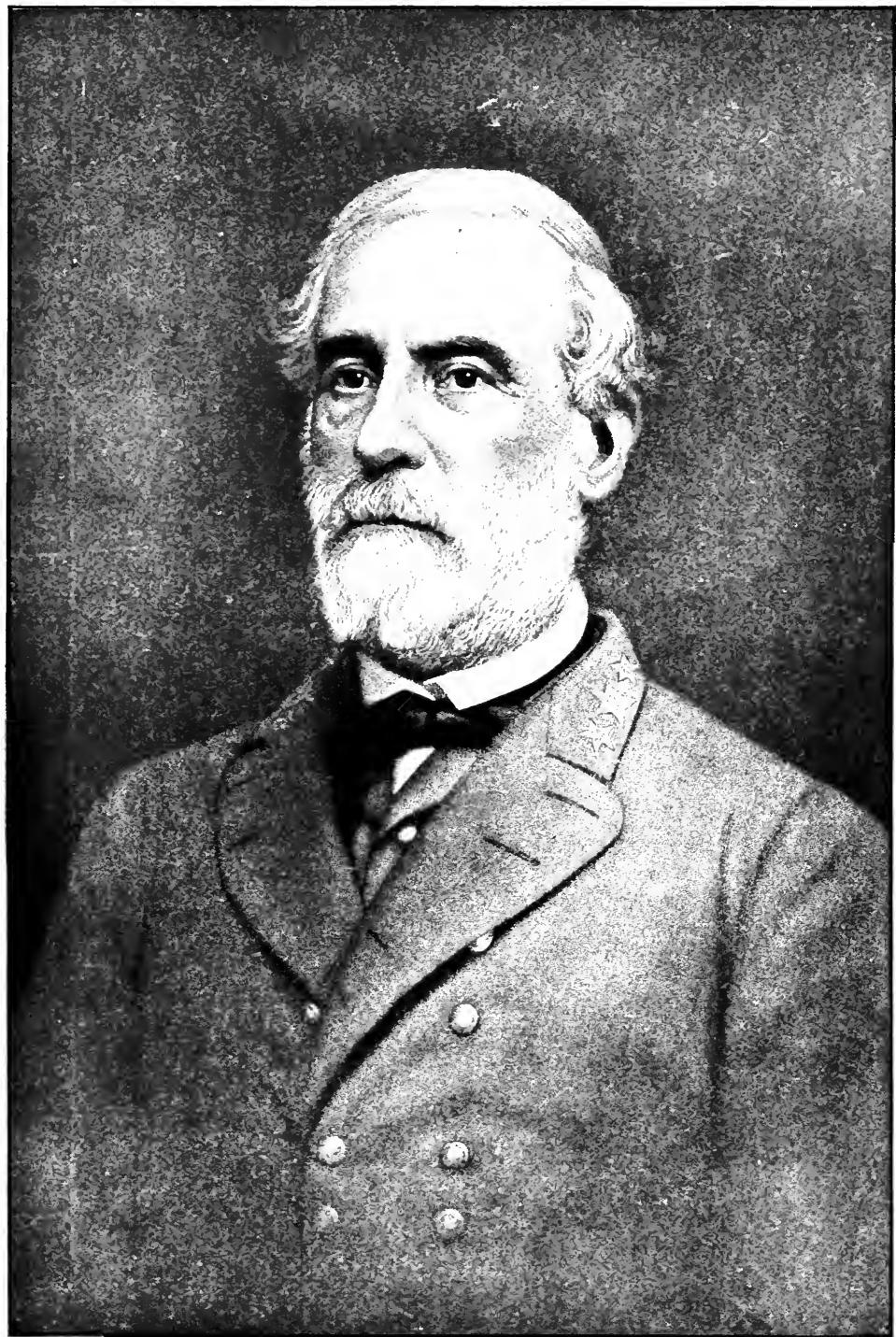
**Return of
Admiral
Porter's
Fleet.**

About the time of General Banks's invasion of the Red River region of Louisiana, General Steele left Little Rock, Arkansas, with eight thousand Union troops to coöperate with the Red River expedition. He marched southward and was reinforced by General John Milton Thayer with the Army of the Frontier. The united forces drove back the Confederate forces under Price, Marmaduke and others, and captured Camden, Arkansas, on the Washita river, April 15, 1864. The loss of one of his trains and the news of the failure of the Red River expedition caused Steele to fall back. The Confederates, now largely reinforced, pursued him closely, and attacked him at Jenkins's Ferry, as he was crossing the Sabine river, but were repulsed with heavy loss, April 30, 1864. After suffering great losses, Steele returned to Little Rock.

**General
Steele's
Disasters
in
Arkansas.**

The failure of the Red River expedition and the retreat of Steele from Southern Arkansas soon enabled the Confederates to recover almost absolute control of Arkansas, and guerrilla bands raided the State at

**Confed-
erate
Recovery
of
Arkansas.**



LIEUT.-GENERAL ROBERT E. LEE, C. S. A.

From a Photograph



will and awed into silence the Union people who had called a State convention to establish a Unionist State government in 1863. The old Confederate State Legislature was reconvened, and it elected a Senator to represent the State in the Confederate States Senate at Richmond, September, 1864.

The condition of affairs in Arkansas so encouraged the Confederate forces in that State that they invaded Missouri in September, 1864, having been promised the aid of the secret organizations called the *Knights of the Golden Circle* and the *Sons of Liberty*; but the contemplated rising of these secret associations was prevented by General Rosecrans, who then commanded in the Department of Missouri, and who, by arresting their leaders, so frightened the rest that when the Confederate forces invaded the State they found few recruits.

It was late in September, 1864, when almost twenty thousand Confederate troops, under Generals Price and Shelby, invaded South-eastern Missouri from Arkansas and pushed on to Pilot Knob, where they attacked a Union force under General Ewing, September 27th, after which they rapidly advanced to the Missouri and turned westward toward Kansas, closely pursued by Union volunteers. After some lively encounters, Price was finally defeated near the Kansas border, by Union troops from Kansas under General Samuel Ryan Curtis, and by a pursuing body of National cavalry under General Alfred Pleasanton, October 23, 1864. The routed Confederates then fled southward in great disorder, hotly pursued by the victorious Union forces, and early in November escaped into Arkansas, with the loss of their artillery, trains and many prisoners. Thus ended the last Confederate invasion of Missouri.

During the summer of 1864 East Tennessee and Kentucky were kept in constant alarm by bands of guerrillas from Virginia who dashed upon isolated posts, devastated the surrounding region and escaped before they could be overtaken. In June the noted guerrilla chief, John Hunt Morgan, who in the meantime had escaped from his captivity in Ohio, made a raid into Kentucky, mounted his followers on stolen horses and proceeded as far as Lexington; but General Stephen Gano Burbridge soon drove him back into Tennessee. Early in September, 1864, he was surprised at Greenville, in East Tennessee, and shot dead while trying to escape.

Early in 1864 General Gillmore, commanding the National army besieging Charleston, hearing that Florida was ready to return to the Union, sent an expedition under General Truman Seymour to recover that State. On February 5th Seymour left Port Royal, South Carolina, with about six thousand Union troops, and was transported up the St. John's river, Florida, to Jacksonville, of which he took possession

Confederate Invasion of Missouri.

Battle of Pilot Knob.

Confederate Defeats and Retreat from Missouri.

Guerrilla Raids in Kentucky and Tennessee.

Morgan's Raid and Death.

Seymour's Invasion of Florida.

**Capture
of
Jackson-
ville.**

on the 7th, after it had been evacuated by the Confederate troops under General Finnegan. Finnegan was pursued from place to place by Union troops, who captured cannon, stores and prisoners. Seymour marched westward toward the Suwannee river; but on February 20, 1864, his army was defeated and almost ruined in the bloody battle of Olustee, on the Florida Central Railroad. Seymour abandoned his project and returned to Jacksonville, after losing two thousand men, and burned stores valued at a million dollars. About the same time the National fleet under Admiral Theodorus Bailey destroyed important salt works on the Florida coast, valued at three million dollars. During the summer there were some raids in Florida, but very little was done toward the restoration of the State to the Union.

**Opera-
tions in
North
Carolina.**

Early in 1864 the Confederates renewed their efforts to drive the National troops out of North Carolina, especially as it now seemed apparent that the people of that State desired to return to the Union. On February 1st a Confederate force under General Pickett menaced Newbern and destroyed a Union gunboat there. Plymouth, near the mouth of the Roanoke river, with sixteen hundred Union troops under General Henry Walton Wessells, surrendered to a Confederate force under General Hoke, assisted by the ram *Albemarle*, February 20, 1864, the day of the battle of Olustee, in Florida. Washington, at the head of Pamlico Sound, was evacuated by a Union force under General Innes Newton Palmer, April 28, 1864. General Hoke demanded the surrender of Newbern, but after the ram *Albemarle* had been driven up the Roanoke river in a severe fight with the *Sassacus* the Confederates raised the siege of Newbern, and Hoke was called to Virginia to aid in the defense of Richmond.

**Siege of
Newbern.**

Six months later, on a dark night, October 27, 1864, Lieutenant William Barker Cushing, of the National navy, with thirteen men, in a steam launch, in the face of a murderous fire upon them, destroyed the *Albemarle* with a torpedo in the Roanoke river, at Plymouth. Four days later, October 31, 1864, the Union troops reoccupied Plymouth. Afterward there was much skirmishing between Union raiders and Confederate detachments.

**Averell's
Raid in
Virginia.**

Early in 1864 guerrilla parties seized Union trains of considerable value in Virginia and West Virginia. About the middle of January a body of National cavalry under General William Woods Averell destroyed thirty miles of the Virginia and Tennessee Railway west of Lynchburg. On March 1st one of the boldest exploits of the war was performed by General Judson Kilpatrick, who, with five thousand National cavalry from the Army of the Potomac, had made a raid around General Lee's right flank, dashed into the outer defenses of Richmond, with the view of liberating the Union prisoners confined in Libby Prison and those in Belle Isle, in the James river; but Kilpatrick was

**Kilpat-
rick's
and Dahl-
gren's
Raids
into
Rich-
mond.**

obliged to retire. The next day, March 2, 1864, Colonel Ulric Dahlgren, with a part of Kilpatrick's force, appeared before Richmond at another point, but was repulsed and himself killed, while many of his followers were either killed or taken prisoners. A few days later another National cavalry force under General George Armstrong Custer, a very young officer, made a raid in the direction of Charlottesville, in the Shenandoah Valley.

Custer's Raid.

In the meantime the National government had been making preparations for the final struggle. In February, 1864, General Grant was placed in chief command of the Union armies with the title of Lieutenant-General, a title hitherto borne only by Washington and Scott. Grant established his headquarters in the field with the Army of the Potomac. Now, for the first time, the National armies were moved in obedience to a single will and were directed persistently to the achievement of a single end. Thus far in the war there had been little concert of action on the part of the National armies, so that while one was prosecuting a campaign with vigor the others were frequently inactive, thus leaving the Confederates free to concentrate upon the point of attack, and giving them, with a smaller force in the field, practically superior numbers. Grant resolved to wrest this advantage from them by attacking them simultaneously in the East and in the West.

His Direction of all Military Operations.

The bulk of the Confederate forces were concentrated east of the Mississippi into two large armies. Lee's army in Virginia occupied the south bank of the Rapidan, covering and defending Richmond. General Joseph Eccleston Johnston's army in Northern Georgia was intrenched at Dalton, covering and defending Atlanta, the great railroad center and depot of Confederate supplies. So thoroughly had the Confederate States been stripped of men and means to raise and equip their armies already in the field that if these two great armies should be captured or destroyed it would be impossible to supply their places and the Confederates would be obliged to submit.

Confederate Armies under Lee and Johnston.

The months of March and April were spent in the reorganization of the Union armies and preparing them for the coming campaign. The Army of the Potomac, still under the immediate command of General Meade, was assigned the duty of destroying Lee's army and reducing the Confederate capital. The Army of the Potomac as reorganized was divided into three corps, as follows: The Second corps, under General Winfield Scott Hancock; the Fifth corps, under General Gouverneur Kemble Warren, and the Sixth corps, under General John Sedgwick. The Army of the Potomac was further augmented by the old Ninth corps, under General Burnside, thus raising the army to over a hundred thousand men. The cavalry was commanded by General Philip Henry Sheridan.

Army of the Potomac.

Armies under Sigel and Butler.

Two other Union armies in Virginia coöperated with the Army of the Potomac in the movement on Richmond—namely, the army under General Franz Sigel, in the Shenandoah Valley, sixteen thousand strong; and the Army of the James, under General Butler, from Fortress Monroe, thirty thousand strong. Thus three National armies were acting in concert for the reduction of the Confederate capital.

Lee's Army.

The Confederate army, under General Lee—known as the *Army of Northern Virginia*—numbering about sixty thousand men, was also divided into three corps, under the respective commands of Generals James Longstreet, Richard Stoddard Ewell and Ambrose Powell Hill. This army then lay strongly intrenched behind Mine Run, in Orange county, Virginia.

Sherman's Army in Georgia.

Three Union armies were united under the command of General William Tecumseh Sherman, in Northern Georgia, to oppose the Confederate army under General Joseph Eccleston Johnston. These three Union armies thus united were the Army of the Cumberland, under General George Henry Thomas, over sixty thousand strong; the Army of the Tennessee, under General James Birdseye McPherson, over twenty-five thousand strong, and the Army of the Ohio, under General John McAllister Schofield, almost fourteen thousand strong, thus making a total force of almost a hundred thousand men.

Johnston's Army.

The Confederate army under Johnston, then behind strong fortifications at Dalton, numbered fifty-five thousand men, and consisted of three corps, commanded respectively by Generals William Joseph Hardee, John Bell Hood and Leonidas Polk. The last-named was Bishop Polk, of the Protestant Episcopal Church, a man most highly esteemed.

Grant's Order.

On the 3d of May, 1864, Lieutenant-General Grant, from his headquarters with the Army of the Potomac, issued an order for the Army of the Potomac, under the immediate command of General Meade, and General William Tecumseh Sherman's army, in Northern Georgia, to commence operations against the Confederate armies opposed to them.

Battle of the Wilderness.

On the morning of May 4th the Army of the Potomac crossed the Rapidan; and the next day it was fiercely assailed by Lee's whole army in the Wilderness, near the old Chancellorsville battlefield, in a tract covered with a dense undergrowth of pine, cedars, oaks and tangled underbrush, where neither artillery nor cavalry could be brought into action, and where no man could see, only knowing by the sharp crackling of musketry and by the cheers on one side or the other how the conflict was progressing. Here a sanguinary conflict, known as the battle of the Wilderness, raged for two days, May 5 and 6, 1864, without any decisive result, at the close of which Lee retreated behind his intrenchments. On the Union side General James Samuel Wadsworth

was killed and General Alexander Stewart Webb was wounded. On the Confederate side Generals William Edmondson Jones and Micah Jenkins were killed and General Longstreet was wounded.

The Army of the Potomac, under Grant's direction, then attempted to flank Lee's army, which was behind strong intrenchments at Spottsylvania Court House, prepared to resist Grant's advance. The Union advance was led by General Warren. Some skirmishing occurred on May 9, 1864, when General Sedgwick was killed by a Confederate sharpshooter; and the command of his corps, the Sixth, was assigned to General Horatio Gouverneur Wright. The following day, May 10, 1864, a furious battle raged all day, with dreadful loss on both sides. The next morning Grant sent the following dispatch to the Secretary of War: "I propose to fight it out on this line, if it takes all summer." On the 12th another bloody engagement occurred, when Hancock broke through the Confederate lines and gained a great advantage and held it. The conflict ceased only at midnight, when Lee retired behind his second line of intrenchments and apparently was as strong as ever. In the course of eight days the Army of the Potomac had lost thirty thousand men.

Grant again attempted to flank Lee; and the Confederates sallied out from their intrenchments on May 19, 1864, when another fierce struggle ensued, ending in the repulse of Lee's troops, but with fearful loss on the Union side. Thus far in the campaign the Army of the Potomac had lost forty thousand men. Lee had lost about thirty thousand. On the 20th Grant proceeded to flank Lee, who thereupon fell back toward Richmond. On the 23d the Army of the Potomac arrived at the North Anna, finding Lee's army on the opposite side of the stream. A heavy battle ensued, and the National army effected a passage; but the Confederates were posted so strongly that Grant returned to the north side of the stream, moved down the Pamunkey, which he crossed at Hanovertown, after which he advanced toward the Chickahominy. Heavy battles were fought on May 28th and 29th, when Grant made another flank movement around Lee's new intrenched position.

At Cold Harbor, Grant's progress was again arrested; and, after some slight efforts to carry the Confederate works, Grant made a general assault upon Lee's strong position on June 3, 1864, but was repulsed with terrific slaughter, losing ten thousand men in killed and wounded in the course of twenty minutes, while the Confederate loss was but little more than one thousand. The Confederates were repulsed in assaults upon Grant that night and the next day and night. Finding Lee's position too strong to be carried by storm and too near the defenses of Richmond to be flanked, Grant led the Army of the Potomac across the Chickahominy and James rivers, June 12-15, 1864,

Battle of
Spottsylvania
Court
House.

Lee's
Retreat
and
Grant's
Advance

Severe
Battles.

Battle of
Cold
Harbor.

Lee's Retreat to Richmond.

thus compelling Lee to fall back to the defenses of Richmond. In this bloody campaign Grant lost sixty thousand men. Lee's loss was much less, as in most cases his troops fought behind intrenchments, while the National troops were the attacking party.

Wilson's and Sheridan's Cavalry Raids.

In the meantime Grant had sent out cavalry expeditions under Generals James Harrison Wilson and Philip Henry Sheridan in various directions to destroy railroads and to cut off all communication with the Confederate capital. When the battle of Spottsylvania Court House began General Sheridan with a picked body of cavalry made a raid in Lee's rear, crossing the North Anna, destroying many miles of railroad and recapturing about four hundred Union prisoners on their way to Richmond; and approaching the Confederate capital, May 11, 1864, he encountered and defeated the Confederate cavalry under General James Ewell Brown Stuart, who himself was killed. The death of this able and dashing cavalry leader was a great loss to the Confederates and was sincerely lamented. After carrying the outer defenses of Richmond, Sheridan was obliged to withdraw. He returned by way of the White House, on the Pamunkey river, to the Army of the Potomac, after an absence of but little over two weeks, in time to take part in the battle of Cold Harbor, on June 3d. Sheridan's reputation as a dashing cavalry leader was now fully established.

Death of the Confederate General Stuart.

General Butler's Army of the James.

On the night that Grant with the Army of the Potomac crossed the Rapidan, May 4, 1864, the Army of the James under General Butler, thirty thousand strong, embarked on Admiral Samuel Phillips Lee's gunboats at Fortress Monroe, and was thus conveyed up the James river to Bermuda Hundred, on the south side of the river, where the army landed the next day, May 5, 1864, and fortified the place. The Army of the James consisted of a corps under General William Farrar Smith and a corps under General Gillmore recently brought from South Carolina. About the middle of May, Butler advanced toward Richmond, approaching Drury's Bluff and gaining some of the outworks of Fort Darling. Simultaneously with Butler's movement up the James, General August Valentine Kautz with five thousand National cavalry started from Suffolk on a raid, tearing up the railways south and west of Petersburg, while fifteen hundred National cavalry moved up the James and took post opposite City Point.

Kautz's Cavalry Raid.

Butler's Defense of Bermuda Hundred.

In the meantime the Confederate authorities at Richmond had summoned Beauregard from Charleston to aid in the defense of Richmond. On May 16th, under cover of a dense fog, Beauregard attacked Butler and drove him back behind the intrenchments of Bermuda Hundred with the loss of four thousand men. The Confederate loss was about three thousand. Beauregard was afterward repulsed in several assaults upon Butler's fortifications at Bermuda Hundred. Butler re-

mained at Bermuda Hundred, and Smith's corps was taken from him to aid the Army of the Potomac at Cold Harbor.

Butler's movements enabled Grant to place the Army of the Potomac on the south side of the James river and to lay siege to Petersburg, an important city on the Appomattox river, twenty miles south of Richmond. The Confederates had strongly fortified Petersburg, as they considered the defense of that town essential to the safety of Richmond. Lee, with the greater part of his army, took a position to defend Petersburg against the Armies of the Potomac and the James; and for the next ten months both Richmond and Petersburg sustained the most vigorous siege. Grant established his headquarters at City Point, where the Appomattox empties into the James.

During the latter half of June and throughout July and August, 1864, Grant prosecuted the siege of Petersburg with vigor. On June 16th the corps of Warren, Hancock and Burnside assailed Petersburg and advanced their lines at heavy cost. A force under General Alfred Howe Terry, sent out by Butler to hold the railway, was driven back by Longstreet and Pickett. On June 18th the National forces made a fruitless assault on Petersburg with heavy loss. Unsuccessful flank movements were made by the Union forces to seize the Weldon railroad, June 22d and 23d, the flanking columns being attacked and driven back by the Confederate corps under General Ambrose Powell Hill, the Union forces losing four thousand men, mostly prisoners. At the same time the National cavalry under Generals Wilson and Kautz destroyed the Weldon railway at Ream's Station and then destroyed over twenty miles of the Lynchburg railway. Wilson and Kautz went as far west as the Staunton river, and were obliged to fight their way back, the Confederates capturing their cannon, train and nearly a thousand of their troops. In the latter part of June, Butler and Hancock took up an intrenched position north of the James river, at Deep Bottom, above Malvern Hill, and held that position in spite of the most vigorous opposition.

On the 30th of July a mine which the Union troops had dug under one of the strongest of the Confederate works was exploded with terrific effect; and in an instant a six-gun fort, with its garrison of three hundred men, was blown into the air; but the assault on Petersburg which followed immediately was repulsed disastrously. General David Bill Birney and General Hancock, with General David McMurtree Gregg's cavalry, threatened Richmond from Deep Bottom, and fought the Confederates, August 13th and 16th, and Hancock destroyed the Weldon railroad at Ream's Station. On August 18th General Warren seized the Weldon railroad, losing a thousand men in the struggle, and intrenched his corps there. Four desperate efforts made by the

Siege of
Peters-
burg and
Rich-
mond.

Grant's
Unsucces-
sful
Assaults
and
Flank
Move-
ments.

Wilson's
and
Kautz's
Cavalry
Raids.

Explosion
of a Mine
at Peters-
burg.

Seizure
of the
Weldon
Railroad.

First
Battle of
Hatcher's
Run.

Grant's
and Lee's
Skillful
General-
ship.

Heavy
Losses
on Both
Sides.

Opera-
tions in
the Shen-
andoah
Valley.

Battles of
Newmar-
ket and
Piedmont.

Early's
Invasion
of
Mary-
land.

Confederates to retake this important railroad were defeated, August 19, 20, 21 and 25, 1864. On September 29th, General Butler stormed and captured Fort Harrison, north of the James river. Another effort to extend the Union lines south-west of Petersburg brought on a severe engagement at Hatcher's Run, October 27, 1864, in which the National troops were repulsed and driven back to their intrenchments before Petersburg.

While conducting the siege of Petersburg, by heavy blows upon the Confederate lines north and south of the James river by turns, by menacing one point and assailing another and by sending out various cavalry expeditions, Grant kept Lee occupied constantly. Lee, by his skillful generalship, repelled every effort of Grant to obtain possession of Petersburg and Richmond; but he failed in every effort to break through the Union lines and to divert the attention of the Union commander-in-chief, who constantly drew his lines more closely and securely around the Army of Northern Virginia and the capital of the Southern Confederacy.

The siege of Petersburg from its commencement to the close of 1864—a period of six months and a half—cost the Union forces almost forty thousand men and the Confederates about only half that number. Thus the entire campaign from the battles of the Wilderness and Spottsylvania Court House to the siege of Petersburg inclusive cost the National forces about a hundred thousand men and the Confederates about fifty thousand. But Grant had greater resources to draw from, and while his losses were replenished constantly by frequent reinforcements Lee saw his own army wearing away faster than it could be replenished.

The National force in the Shenandoah Valley and West Virginia, under General Franz Sigel, acting in coöperation with the Armies of the Potomac and the James, began its campaign on May 1, 1864. Sigel sent a detachment under General George Crook, with a cavalry force under General Averell, into the Kanawha Valley, in West Virginia. Sigel himself marched up the Shenandoah Valley, and was routed by the Confederates near Newmarket, May 15, 1864. Sigel was superseded in his command by General David Hunter, who defeated the Confederates at Piedmont, near Staunton, June 5, 1864. After being joined by Crook and Averell, Hunter threatened Lynchburg, but was obliged to retreat into West Virginia.

The way to the Potomac being now clear, General Lee resolved upon a third invasion of the North, hoping thus to compel Grant to raise the siege of Petersburg and Richmond. With this end in view, Lee sent General Jubal Early with fifteen thousand men down the Shenandoah Valley. Early drove the few National troops in the Shenan-

Communication with Washington Severed.

Battle of Monocacy.

Early's Retreat to Virginia.

Operations in the Shenandoah Valley.

Burning of Chambersburg, Pennsylvania.

Battles of Opequan and Fisher's Hill.

doah Valley across the Potomac and pursued them into Maryland. This third invasion of Maryland again caused intense alarm and excitement in the North, especially when Baltimore and Washington were threatened and all communication by railroad and telegraph was cut off between the National capital and the Northern States.

Washington was utterly defenseless, and the Northern States sent troops to protect it, while Grant sent General Wright's corps from the Army of the Potomac for the same purpose, and other Union troops hastened to repel the invaders. On July 9, 1864, Early defeated a few National troops under General Lewis Wallace, on the Monocacy river, near Frederick; after which Early sent a body of cavalry toward Baltimore and cut off communication between that city and the North, while he himself marched toward Washington and cut off that city from the North also. After some skirmishing before the National capital, the Confederates recrossed the Potomac into Virginia, on the night of July 12th, carrying with them a large amount of plunder.

Early's force was pursued across the Potomac by the National troops under General Wright, who defeated him on the Shenandoah river, on July 19th. The next day a National force under General Averell defeated a Confederate detachment near Winchester. The Confederates routed the National troops under General Crook, July 24, 1864, driving them across the Potomac into Maryland and pursuing them across the river. A force of about three hundred Confederate cavalry under General McCausland made a raid northward to Chambersburg, in Pennsylvania, and burned two-thirds of that town on July 30, 1864, after their demand for a contribution of half a million dollars in gold had not been complied with. This Confederate force at once retired into Virginia, pursued by the National cavalry under General Averell, who routed the daring raiders at Moorefield with heavy loss in artillery, trains and prisoners.

The National authorities in Washington now sent the Sixth and Ninth corps against Early in the Shenandoah Valley, where they were joined by Hunter's troops; and the entire force, thirty thousand strong, was placed under the command of General Philip Henry Sheridan. Early's army numbered about twenty thousand men. On September 19, 1864, Sheridan attacked Early and gained a brilliant victory over him, at Opequan, near Winchester, driving him from the field. Early retreated behind earthworks at Fisher's Hill, near Strasburg, where he was attacked by the pursuing Sheridan, who gained another signal victory, on September 22, 1864. Early was driven farther up the valley. Four thousand Confederates were taken prisoners. After sending Early thus "whirling up the valley," as Sheridan himself expressed it, the victor pursued as far as Staunton; and on his return

he swept the valley—which had been a great storehouse and granary for the Confederate armies in Virginia—of cattle, crops and everything that could be of use to those armies.

Sheridan's Account of His Destructive Raid.

The following dispatch from General Sheridan to General Grant explains itself:

“Woodstock, Va., 9 P. M., Oct. 7, 1864.

“Lieut.-General U. S. Grant.—I have the honor to report my command at this point to-night. I commenced moving back from Port Republic, Mount Crawford, Bridgewater and Harrisonburg yesterday morning. The grain and forage in advance of these points had been previously destroyed. In moving back to this point the whole country from the Blue Ridge to the North Mountain has been rendered untenable for a rebel army. I have destroyed over two thousand barns filled with wheat and hay and farming implements, over seventy mills filled with flour and wheat, have driven in front of this army four herd of stock, and have killed and issued to the troops not less than three thousand sheep. This destruction embraces the Luray Valley and Little Fort Valley as well as the Main Valley. A large number of horses have been obtained. Lieutenant John R. Meigs, my engineer officer, was murdered beyond Harrisonburg, near Dayton. For this atrocious act all the houses within an area of five miles were burned.

“P. H. SHERIDAN, Major-General.”

War's Barbarity

This dispatch is produced here for the benefit of those people who are disposed to denounce as “barbarous warfare,” “uncivilized warfare,” etc., when such very things are done in South Africa, China, the Philippines or anywhere else in the world, forgetting that war is never conducted on Sunday-school principles and that there never has been any such thing as “civilized warfare” or any warfare that is not barbarous. The Rev. John Wesley said: “War is the business of hell.” General William Tecumseh Sherman said: “War is hell.”

Battle of Cedar Creek.

After being reinforced, Early again advanced down the valley; and, after several minor actions, he suddenly attacked Sheridan's army at Cedar Creek, on the morning of October 19, 1864, while Sheridan was absent. In their furious onset the Confederates swept over the Union intrenchments and drove the Union troops four miles in a short time. The retreat was checked for a time by General Wright, who was in command temporarily and who made great efforts to stem the tide of disaster. Just at that moment, Sheridan, who, on his ride “from Winchester twenty miles away,” hearing the sound of battle, came in hot haste to the scene of action, “dashed down the line mid a storm of huzzas, and the wave of retreat checked its course there, because the sight of the master compelled it to pause.” Thus Sheridan, by his voice,

and presence, infused such confidence in his disheartened troops that he turned defeat into victory, almost annihilating Early's army. The Confederates, in their flight, abandoned everything they had gained and captured early in the day, besides many cannon and much camp equipage. The victorious National army lost three thousand men, while the Confederate loss was greater. After this great victory Sheridan held the Shenandoah Valley under complete control.

"The first that the General saw was the groups
 Of stragglers, and then the retreating troops;
 What was done—what to do—a glance told him both;
 And striking his spurs, with a terrible oath,
 He dashed down the line, 'mid a storm of buzzas,
 And the wave of retreat checked its course there, because
 The sight of the master compelled it to pause.
 With foam and with dust the black charger was gray,
 By the flash of his eye and his red nostril's play,
 He seemed to the whole great army to say:
 'I have brought you Sheridan all the way,
 From Winchester down, to save the day.'

"Hurrah, hurrah for Sheridan!
 Hurrah, hurrah for horse and man!
 And when their statues are placed on high,
 Under the dome of the Union sky—
 The American soldier's Temple of Fame,
 There with the glorious General's name
 Be it said in letters both bold and bright:
 'Here is the steed that saved the day
 By carrying Sheridan into the fight,
 From Winchester—twenty miles away.'"

While Generals Grant and Sheridan had been thus conducting the war in Virginia, General William Tecumseh Sherman, with the combined Armies of the Cumberland, the Tennessee and the Ohio, a hundred thousand strong, was conducting a memorable campaign against General Joseph Eccleston Johnston's Confederate army of fifty-five thousand men, in Northern Georgia, for the possession of Atlanta, the great railroad center and depot of Confederate supplies.

Sherman's Campaign in Georgia.

In accordance with Lieutenant-General Grant's order, Sherman moved from the vicinity of Chattanooga on May 6, 1864, on his march against Atlanta. Sherman's course lay through a country full of mountains, ravines and rivers. As Dalton, where Johnston's army was intrenched, was fortified too strongly to be carried by storm, Sherman flanked the Confederate position, thus compelling Johnston to evacuate Dalton. Johnston fell back to Resaca, where a severe battle was fought, May 15, 1864, after which Johnston retreated to Alatoona Pass. After another flank movement, Sherman fought severe engagements with Johnston at Dallas, May 25–28, 1864, compelling him

His March against Atlanta.

Battles of Resaca, Dallas and Kenesaw Mountain.

again to fall back. Johnston made a stand on Kenesaw Mountain and on Lost Mountain and Pine Mountain, where he held Sherman at bay for almost a month, with frequent skirmishes and battles, in one of which the Confederate General Leonidas Polk was killed. By another flank movement on July 2d, Sherman compelled Johnston to retreat across the Chattahoochie and take refuge behind the fortifications of Atlanta.

Capture of Rome.

Sherman's subordinates—Generals George Henry Thomas, James Birdseye McPherson, John McAllister Schofield, Joseph Hooker, Oliver Otis Howard, Francis Preston Blair, John Alexander Logan and John McCauley Palmer—acquitted themselves with credit in these actions. After driving the Confederates from Resaca, Sherman sent out a detachment under General Jefferson C. Davis, who captured Rome with its foundries, mills and military stores. Union cavalry expeditions under Generals Lovell Harrison Rousseau and George Stoneman destroyed the railway communications with Atlanta by their destructive raids in Georgia and Alabama.

Union Cavalry Raids.**Johnston's Skillful Retreat.**

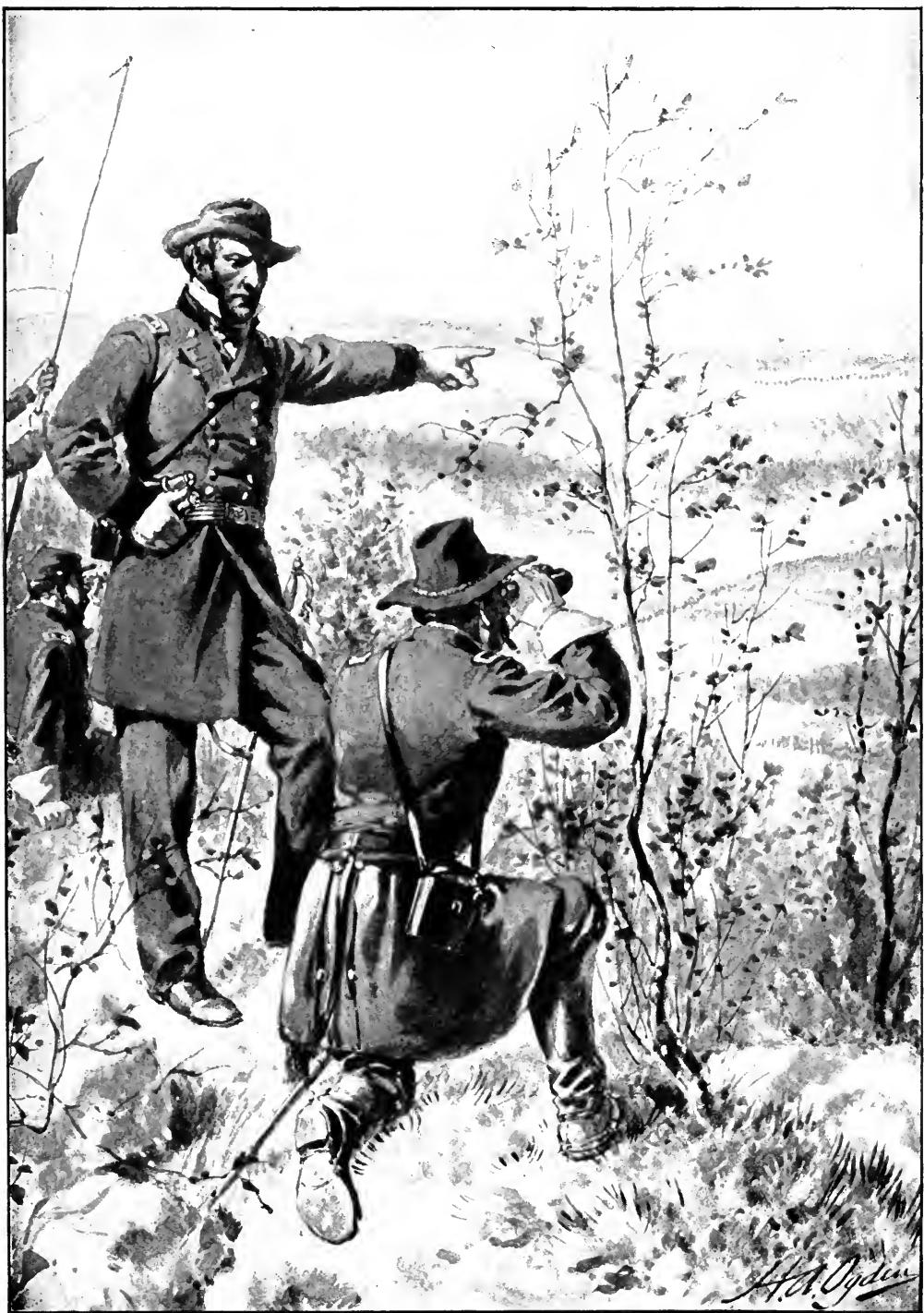
Sherman pursued Johnston in his retreat across the Chattahoochie river to the intrenchments of Atlanta. Too weak to assume the offensive, Johnston had conducted his retreat from Dalton with masterly skill before an army twice the size of his own, during two months of almost constant fighting; but his "retreating policy" was not approved by the Confederate authorities at Richmond, and about the middle of July he was removed from his command and was succeeded by General John Bell Hood, one of his corps commanders, an officer of great reputation for bravery and impetuous energy. The change of commanders was followed by a change of policy in the Confederate army in Northern Georgia.

Johnston Superseded by Hood.

Hood made three furious assaults upon Sherman's lines, at Peachtree Creek, July 20, 22 and 28, 1864, in all of which he was repulsed with heavy loss. In the second of these battles the National army met with a great loss in the death of General James Birdseye McPherson. His successor, General Oliver Otis Howard, had distinguished himself in the Army of the Potomac and had lost an arm in McClellan's campaign against Richmond in 1862.

Battles of Peach-tree Creek.**Death of General McPherson.****Siege of Atlanta.****Cavalry Raids.**

After his three victories over Hood, just mentioned, Sherman laid siege to Atlanta, and prosecuted the siege with vigor throughout the month of August, 1864, cannonading and bombarding the city day and night, while Hood's army was becoming weaker gradually. General Kilpatrick's cavalry cut the railroads which supplied the beleaguered city. In one of these cavalry raids General Stoneman and a large force of his troopers were made prisoners by the Confederates. At length Hood sent his cavalry to threaten Sherman's communications



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SHERMAN'S SIGNAL TO ALATOONA, KENESAW MOUNTAIN, OCTOBER 4, 1864

and posted a part of his army under Hardee at Jonesboro' to protect his own communications. This division of the Confederate army was a mistake of which Sherman quickly took advantage by sweeping around the west side of Atlanta; and Howard defeated Hardee in a desperate battle at Jonesboro' on August 31, 1864, thus compelling Hood to evacuate Atlanta, of which Sherman took possession immediately, September 2, 1864. Sherman wrote to the Secretary of War: "Atlanta is ours and fairly won."

Battle of
Jones-
boro and
Evacua-
tion of
Atlanta.

After the fall of Atlanta, Hood was reinforced very heavily, whereupon he moved northward for the purpose of invading Tennessee and cutting Sherman's communications with the North. Sherman followed Hood and drove him into Alabama. At length Sherman sent General George Henry Thomas with a part of his army into Tennessee to watch Hood, and afterward sent Schofield with a reinforcement for Thomas, thus increasing Thomas's force to forty thousand men. Sherman returned to Atlanta, tearing up the railways in his rear and cutting loose from all his communications on the north, in preparation for his great march through Georgia.

Hood's
Designs
on Ten-
nessee.

Opposed
by
Thomas.

Hood invaded Tennessee with an army of about forty thousand men. On his approach Thomas retreated to Nashville. Hood pursued, fought an indecisive battle with a part of Thomas's army under General Schofield at Franklin, on November 30th, and then laid siege to Nashville. On December 15, 1864, Thomas sallied out of the city and attacked the besiegers. The next day he renewed the attack, and in a bloody battle he completely annihilated Hood's army. Nearly the whole of Hood's artillery was captured by the victorious National troops; and Hood, with a small remnant of his army, fled south into Alabama. Thomas pursued his vanquished foe for several days, capturing many prisoners. In this campaign Hood lost twenty thousand men and Thomas lost ten thousand.

Hood's
Invasion
of Ten-
nessee.

Battles of
Franklin
and
Nash-
ville.

A Confederate detachment under General John Cabell Breckinridge entered East Tennessee to act in concert with Hood in his invasion of Middle Tennessee, but was driven back into South-western Virginia, toward Wytheville, in December, by the National cavalry under General Stoneman, who recently had been exchanged. Another Confederate detachment under General Forrest was repulsed in an attack on Murfreesboro' a few days after Hood's defeat at Nashville.

Other
Confed-
erate
Invasions
of Ten-
nessee.

After destroying all his storehouses and public property, everything that could be of any use to an army, Sherman finally abandoned Atlanta on November 14, 1864, on which day he cut his telegraphic communications with the North; and for some time he was heard from only through Confederate newspapers. He thus commenced his grand march through Georgia for the Atlantic coast, with an army of sixty-

Sher-
man's
March
through
Georgia.

five thousand men, which moved in two grand divisions, the right wing being led by General Oliver Otis Howard, the left by General Henry Warner Slocum and the five thousand cavalry by General Kilpatrick, who hovered in the front and on the flanks of the army and met squadrons of Confederate cavalry in several encounters. No opposition was made to his progress; and the appeals of General Beauregard, then the Confederate commander in that department, who called upon the Georgians to rise and oppose Sherman's march, were made in vain. Ten thousand negroes joined Sherman's army during its march and accompanied it to the coast. Sherman's march was through the heart of Georgia. By threatening different points he skillfully masked his designs and prevented any considerable numbers of the Confederates from gathering to oppose him. He captured Milledgeville, the capital of the State, on November 29th. General William Babcock Hazen took Fort McAllister, on the Ogeechee river, near Savannah, by storm, on December 13th, and opened communications with the National fleet on the coast about a month after he left Atlanta.

**Capture
of Fort
Mc-
Allister.**

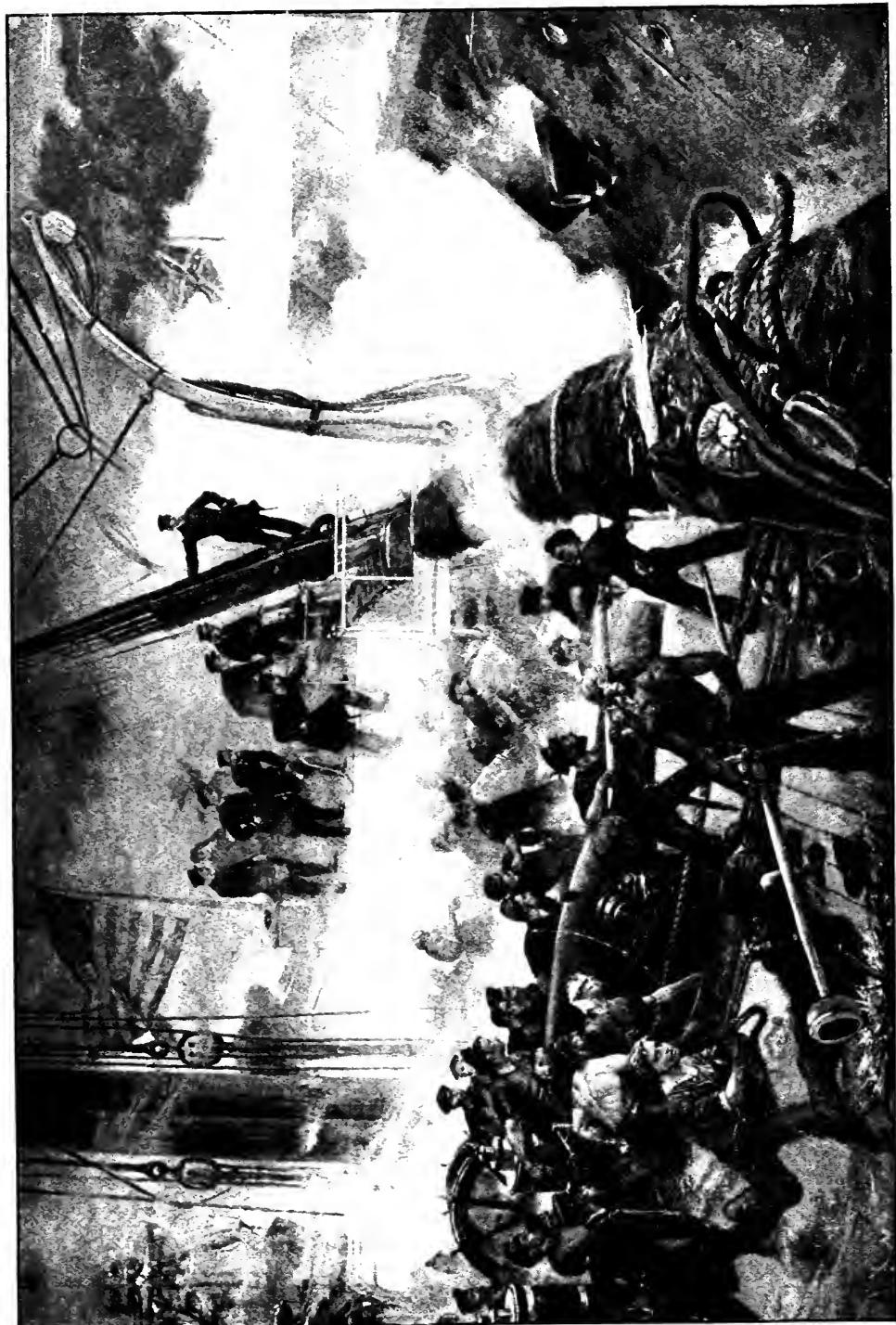
“Then sang we a song of our chieftain
That echoed o'er river and lea,
And the stars of our banner shone brighter
When Sherman marched down to the sea.”

**Sher-
man's
Occupa-
tion of
Savan-
nah.**

Finally, on December 21, 1864, Sherman took military possession of Savannah, which, on his approach, had been evacuated by its garrison of fifteen thousand Confederate troops under General Hardee, who fled toward Charleston, after destroying what public property they could, including two iron-clads and other vessels in the river. Sherman offered Savannah as a “Christmas gift to the Nation.” He remained there six weeks, thus giving his army a rest after their march of two hundred and fifty-five miles, covering a period of about six weeks. As Sherman approached Savannah, General John Gray Foster, who commanded the Union forces in that region, made important coöperative movements and occupied strong positions on the railway between Savannah and Charleston, after Hardee had fled from the former to the latter city.

**Cavalry
Raids in
Alabama,
Mis-
sissippi and
Louis-
iana.**

While Sherman was marching through Georgia, Union cavalry expeditions made destructive raids through Mississippi to coöperate with him by attracting attention from his march. Thus General Napoleon Jackson Tecumseh Dana made a raid from Vicksburg to Jackson, fought a Confederate force on the Big Black River and destroyed the railway and much other property. General John Wynn Davidson made a raid from Baton Rouge, Louisiana, through Southern Mississippi and threatened Mobile. General Benjamin Henry Grierson made



FARRAGUT IN THE BATTLE OF MOBILE BAY

From the Painting by W. H. Overend



a raid from Memphis, Tennessee, through Northern Mississippi and Alabama, destroyed many miles of the Mobile and Ohio Railway, destroyed many stores and much property, routed a Confederate force and then raided through Mississippi to Vicksburg.

While Grant and Sherman were conducting the sieges of Petersburg and Atlanta respectively, important events were occurring near Mobile. On August 5, 1864, a National fleet of eighteen vessels, four of them iron-clads, the rest wooden vessels, appeared off the entrance to Mobile bay; while a National land force under General Gordon Granger landed on Dauphin Island to coöperate with the fleet, having been sent from New Orleans for that purpose by General Edward Richard Spriggs Canby.

Early the same day, August 5, 1864, Farragut's fleet sailed into Mobile bay, boldly running past Forts Gaines and Morgan, the former on Dauphin Island, the latter on Mobile Point. Farragut's vessels were lashed in pairs, and the admiral directed the movements of his fleet from the main-top of his flag-ship, the *Hartford*. The fire from the forts had been ineffectual; but one of Farragut's iron-clads, the *Tecumseh*, was sunk by a torpedo. Farragut is said to have remarked: "Sail on. Damn the torpedoes." The Confederate fleet, consisting of the iron-clad ram *Tennessee* and a number of gunboats, steamed swiftly down the bay and made a dash at the Union fleet. A short but furious naval battle ensued, resulting in a brilliant victory for Farragut, the ram *Tennessee* being captured, with the Confederate admiral, Franklin Buchanan, who was wounded severely.

Farragut then shelled Fort Gaines, compelling it to surrender on August 7th. Granger's troops were then transferred to Mobile Point. Farragut and Granger bombarded Fort Morgan, which they compelled to surrender on August 23d, after throwing about three thousand shells into the fort. With these two forts the victorious Unionists captured almost fifteen hundred prisoners and one hundred and four cannon. Besides the iron-clad *Tecumseh*, the victors lost over three hundred men. By these National victories the port of Mobile was closed effectually against blockade-runners; and the only port still left open to the Confederates was Wilmington, North Carolina.

The *Alabama*, already alluded to, had captured more than sixty American merchantmen and had eluded pursuit for nearly two years. In June, 1864, the *Alabama*, under the command of Captain Raphael Semmes, was cruising in the English Channel and ran into the French port of Cherbourg. She was pursued by the *Kearsarge*, a National vessel commanded by Captain John Ancrum Winslow. Captain Semmes challenged Captain Winslow to fight, and the challenge was accepted. The combat took place on Sunday, June 19, 1864, off Cher-

Expedition
against
Mobile.

Admiral
Farragut's
Victory
in Mobile
Bay.

Bombardment and Capture of Forts Gaines and Morgan.

Fight between the Kearsarge and the Alabama.

bourg; and the neighboring shore was lined with spectators who witnessed the fight. After an hour's mutual cannonade, the *Alabama* was disabled and in a sinking condition, whereupon she surrendered, and in twenty minutes she sank. None of the *Kearsarge*'s crew were killed, and but one was mortally wounded. The crew of the *Alabama* were rescued by the *Kearsarge* and a French vessel; but Captain Semmes and his officers were rescued and conveyed to England by the *Deerhound*, belonging to one of the British aristocracy named Lancaster, who took them to his own country so that they might not be made prisoners of war. Nearly thirty years later (February 2, 1894) the *Kearsarge* was wrecked on Roncadore Reef, in the West Indies.

**Capture
of the
Georgia
and the
Florida.**

The Confederate cruiser *Georgia* was captured by the *Niagara*, commanded by Commodore Charles Henderson Craven, off Portugal, August 15, 1864; and the *Florida*, another Confederate cruiser, was captured by the *Wachusett*, commanded by Commander Napoleon Collins, at Bahia, Brazil, October 7, 1864.

**Confed-
erate
Plots in
Canada.**

Many Confederates proceeded to Canada, where, with the aid of sympathizers in the British provinces and in the Northern States, they formed various schemes against the United States government and the Northern people. One of these schemes was a plot to liberate several thousand Confederate prisoners on Johnson's Island, in Lake Erie. Another was to release the eight thousand Confederate prisoners in Camp Douglas, at Chicago, and make a raid through the Western States. These schemes were foiled by the vigilance of the National authorities. In October, 1864, a gang of armed men made a raid from Canada into the village of St. Albans, Vermont, fired upon the defenseless people, wounding some, robbed the banks and then escaped on stolen horses to Canada. In November, 1864, Confederate emissaries set fire to some hotels and theaters in New York city; but the fires were soon extinguished.

**Raid on
St.
Albans,
Vermont.**

**Fires in
New
York
City.**

**Changes
in
President
Lincoln's
Cabinet.**

**Chief
Justice
Chase.**

**National
Thank-
giving.**

At the beginning of July, 1864, Secretary Chase resigned; whereupon the President appointed William Pitt Fessenden, of Maine, to the post of Secretary of the Treasury. The new Secretary was a member of the United States Senate, both before and after his membership in Lincoln's Cabinet. Mr. Chase was appointed Chief Justice of the United States, to fill the vacancy caused by the death of Chief Justice Taney, in 1862. Another change in the President's Cabinet in 1864 was the succession of Montgomery Blair, of Maryland, as Postmaster-General by ex-Governor William Dennison, of Ohio. On July 18, 1864, President Lincoln ordered a draft of five hundred thousand men.

President Lincoln appointed Sunday, September 11, 1864, as a day of National thanksgiving for the recent National victories of Sherman and Farragut before Atlanta and Mobile respectively and minor suc-

cesses elsewhere; and the Union people of the country generally complied with the President's request.

At the close of 1864 the National armies numbered six hundred thousand men, and the Confederate armies numbered three hundred and fifty thousand. About two hundred thousand of the emancipated slaves were enlisted in the National armies.

While the United States was distracted by her gigantic Civil War her naval force in Japanese waters united with the warships of Great Britain, France and Holland in those Far Eastern seas in hostilities with Japan in the eventful year 1864, taking part in the bombardment and capture of Shimonoseki, which the allied squadrons took to chastise the Japanese for firing upon American, British, French and Dutch ships.

Nevada was admitted into the Union as a State, October 31, 1864; and three new Territories were created—Arizona and Idaho in 1863 and Montana in 1864. In 1864 the people of the States still loyal to the Union were agitated by an exciting Presidential campaign. The policy of the administration in regard to the war and the question of emancipation had been sustained by the Republican party generally and also by the War Democracy. It was opposed by the Anti-War Democracy as wrong and useless, that faction maintaining that the war was a failure; that the seceded States could never be conquered; that emancipation was wrong, and that measures should be taken for a peaceful restoration of the Union with slavery as it existed. The extreme radical wing of the Republican party was dissatisfied with the conservative policy of the administration and denounced it for being too slow, having maintained that emancipation should have been resorted to at the beginning of the war. The President's reconstruction project was opposed very bitterly as too conservative by such radical leaders as Benjamin Franklin Wade, of Ohio, in the United States Senate, and Henry Winter Davis, of Maryland, in the United States House of Representatives; these radical leaders publishing a manifesto to the people through the columns of the *New York Tribune*.

The people of both sections by this time had grown tired of the bloody Civil War, and the Anti-War Democracy of the North proceeded to make all the political capital for themselves possible out of this feeling, while the Confederates sought to affect public sentiment in the North by insincere peace negotiations, thus seeking to place President Lincoln's administration in a false light before the Northern people by making it appear that the President was opposed to peace. In July, 1864, four irresponsible Confederate agents—ex-United States Senator Clement Claiborne Clay, of Alabama; ex-Secretary of the Interior Jacob Thompson, of Mississippi; Professor James Philemon Holcombe, of Virginia, and George N. Saunders—had been holding peace confer-

Armies
in 1864.

War with
Japan.

Admis-
sion of
Nevada.

Presi-
dential
Campaign
of 1864.

Two
Kinds of
Opposi-
tion to
President
Lincoln.

The
Presi-
dential
Campaign
and
Fruitless
Peace
Efforts.

ences with Horace Greeley, the distinguished editor of the *New York Tribune* and President Lincoln's representative, at the Clifton House, in Canada, opposite the Niagara Falls, and had been offered a safe-conduct to Washington with the restoration of the Union and the abolition of slavery as the basis for peace negotiations; whereupon the four Confederate agents frankly acknowledged that they had no official credentials from the Confederate government, and the negotiations ended. About the same time Colonel Jacques, of Illinois, held a peace interview with Jefferson Davis, at Richmond; but the Confederate President would treat only on the basis of Confederate independence, saying: "We are not fighting for slavery, but for independence, and that or extermination we will have."

Radical Nomination of Fremont. The radicals were first in the field. In a Radical National Convention which assembled at Cleveland, Ohio, May 31, 1864, remaining in session several days, General John Charles Fremont was nominated for President, with John Cochrane, of New York, for Vice President, and a platform was adopted calling for a most radical policy in the prosecution of the war and the treatment of slavery.

Renomination of Lincoln. A few days later, June 7, 1864, a Union National convention, representing the Republicans and the War Democrats, assembled in Baltimore, and remained in session several days, during which it unanimously renominated President Lincoln for reëlection, and named Andrew Johnson, of Tennessee—the Military Governor of that State, the sturdy Union leader and War Democrat of the South—for Vice President. This convention adopted a platform sustaining the administration in its prosecution of the war for the maintenance of the Union and upholding its position on the abolition of slavery.

Anti-War Democratic Nomination of General McClellan. Nearly three months later, August 29, 1864, the Anti-War Democracy met in a National Convention in Chicago, with Governor Horatio Seymour, of New York, as chairman, remaining in session several days. A prominent leader in this convention was Clement Laird Vallandigham, of Ohio, who, with George Hunt Pendleton, of the same State, and Daniel Wolsey Voorhees, of Indiana, and Fernando Wood and Benjamin Wood, of New York city, had been among the most violent opponents of the administration's war policy on the floors of Congress, and who had been living in exile in Canada after his arrest by order of the administration the previous year. This convention nominated General George Brinton McClellan, of New Jersey, for President, and George Hunt Pendleton, of Ohio, for Vice President, on a platform declaring the war a failure and that "humanity, liberty and the public welfare" demanded that it be stopped immediately. General McClellan accepted the nomination, but repudiated the platform. The convention had nominated McClellan because he was a War Democrat and

Mr. Pendleton because he was a Peace Democrat, thus hoping to satisfy both wings of the Democratic party. While the convention was in session there also met in Chicago many members of the *Knights of the Golden Circle*, *Sons of Liberty* and other secret organizations in sympathy with the Confederates, and also Confederate officers from Canada; and it was then that the liberating and arming of the eight thousand Confederate prisoners in Camp Douglas at Chicago and those at Indianapolis was planned. A very open sympathizer with the Confederates was Marcus Mills Pomeroy—known as “Brick” Pomeroy—editor of the *La Crosse Democrat*, published at La Crosse, Wisconsin, who said in his paper: “If Lincoln is reëlected we hope some bold hand will pierce his heart.”

**Plot in
Chicago.**

**Lincoln's
Re-
election.**

Just after the adjournment of this anti-war convention the people of the Northern States sent up shouts of joy, in accompaniment to the booming of cannon and the anthems of thanksgiving, for the great victories of Sherman and Farragut at Atlanta and Mobile respectively. Two months before the Presidential election Fremont and Cochrane withdrew in favor of Lincoln and Johnson; and on November 8, 1864, the people of the Northern, or Free States pronounced in favor of a vigorous prosecution of the war by the reëlection of Abraham Lincoln as President of the United States, with Andrew Johnson as Vice President. Lincoln and Johnson carried all the Free States, except New Jersey, also carrying the three border Slave States of West Virginia, Maryland and Missouri, along with three of the Confederate States in which loyal State governments had been organized—Tennessee, Arkansas and Louisiana. Thus the Republican party was supported in the South for the first time. In all, Lincoln and Johnson had two hundred and twelve out of two hundred and thirty-three Electoral votes and a popular majority of more than four hundred thousand out of a total popular vote of more than four million. McClellan and Pendleton carried the former's own State of New Jersey and the border Slave States of Delaware and Kentucky. Eight of the seceded States—Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina, Georgia, Florida, Alabama, Mississippi and Texas—took no part in the election. Maryland freed her slaves by constitutional amendment early in the fall of 1864.

**Union
War
Govern-
ors.**

The most prominent of the War Governors in the North were Samuel Cony of Maine, John Albion Andrew of Massachusetts, William Sprague of Rhode Island, William Alfred Buckingham of Connecticut, Edwin Dennison Morgan of New York, Charles Smith Olden of New Jersey, Andrew Gregg Curtin of Pennsylvania, John Brough of Ohio, Oliver Perry Morton of Indiana, Richard Yates of Illinois, Austin Blair of Michigan, Alexander Williams Randall of Wisconsin, Samuel Jordan Kirkwood of Iowa and Thomas Clement Fletcher of Missouri.

**Eminent
War
Support-
ers in
Congress.**

The most eminent defenders of the War for the Union in the National Congress were John Parker Hale of New Hampshire, Charles Sumner and Henry Wilson of Massachusetts, David Wilmot of Pennsylvania, Benjamin Franklin Wade and John Sherman of Ohio, Henry S. Lane of Indiana, Lyman Trumbull of Illinois and Zachariah Chandler of Michigan, in the Senate; and George Sewall Boutwell and Henry Laurens Dawes of Massachusetts, Roscoe Conkling and Reuben Eaton Fenton of New York, Thaddeus Stevens, William Darragh Kelley and Galusha Aaron Grow of Pennsylvania, Henry Winter Davis of Maryland, Robert Cumming Schenck of Ohio, George Washington Julian and Schuyler Colfax of Indiana, Elihu Benjamin Washburne of Illinois and John Adams Kasson of Iowa, in the House of Representatives. Thaddeus Stevens, of Pennsylvania, was Chairman of the Committee of Ways and Means in the House of Representatives and thus leader of the House. Galusha Aaron Grow, of Pennsylvania, and Schuyler Colfax, of Indiana, were successively Speakers of the House of Representatives.

**Constitu-
tional
Abolition
of
Slavery.**

In June, 1864, Congress repealed the notorious Fugitive Slave Law; and the United States Senate adopted the Thirteenth Amendment of the National Constitution, prepared by Senator Lyman Trumbull, of Illinois, abolishing slavery forever within the limits of the United States; but the House of Representatives would not then agree to it. The House of Representatives adopted the amendment on January 31, 1865, by a vote of one hundred and nineteen yeas against fifty-six nays, eight members not voting. All the Republicans and sixteen Democrats voted for the amendment. When Speaker Colfax announced that the necessary two-thirds majority had voted for the amendment, the House and the spectators manifested their satisfaction by the most enthusiastic outburst of applause, members on the floor springing to their feet and applauding with cheers and clapping of hands, the spectators in the crowded galleries waving their hats and making the chamber ring with enthusiastic plaudits, and hundreds of ladies in the galleries waving their handkerchiefs and participating in the general demonstration of enthusiasm. When this crowning act of emancipation was accomplished, Mr. Ebon C. Ingersoll, of Illinois, said: "In honor of this immortal and sublime event, I move that the House adjourn." The motion was carried by a vote of one hundred and twenty-one to twenty-four. On the following day (February 1, 1865) it was resolved to send the amendment to the State Legislatures for ratification; and before the close of the year (December 18, 1865) the Secretary of State, by proclamation, certified that three-fourths of the State Legislatures had ratified the amendment, thus making it a part of the National Constitution.

"Oh thou great Wrong, that through the slow-paced years
 Didst hold thy millions fettered, and didst wield
 The scourge that drove the laborer to the field,
 And look with stony eye on human tears,
 Thy cruel reign is o'er;
 Thy bondmen crouch no more
 In terror at the menace of thine eye;
 For He who marks the bounds of guilty power,
 Long-suffering, hath heard the captive's cry,
 And touched his shackles at the appointed hour,
 And lo! they fall, and he whose limbs they galled
 Stands in his native manhood, disenthralled."

At the beginning of 1865 the National armies were increasing rapidly and were supplied abundantly. The Union people were hopeful and confident. The Confederate armies were wasting away by desertion, disease and the losses in battle. The Confederate soldiers were scantily fed and clothed, while their families at home were destitute and suffering. The Confederates—people and soldiers alike—were fast losing heart in their cause.

Bright
Union
Hopes.

The desperate condition of the Confederate fortunes caused the Confederate Congress itself to move toward emancipation, strange as it may seem. The Confederate disasters in the campaign of 1864 and the Confederacy's want of means and want of men finally forced the Confederate authorities to the remarkable attitude of considering seriously the question of arming the slaves. At length Jefferson Davis proposed the employment of slaves as soldiers in the Confederate armies, and General Lee recommended such a measure, the slaves thus enlisted in the Confederate service to have their freedom either on entering or leaving the service. A bill to that effect was introduced in the Confederate Congress, rejected by the Senate and passed by the House of Representatives; but when the two Virginia Senators voted for it, in compliance with instructions from the Legislature of their State, the bill was adopted also by the Senate, February, 1865. Said one of the Virginia Senators: "It is an abandonment of the ground on which we seceded from the old Union. * * * If we are right in passing this measure we were wrong in denying to the old government the right to interfere with the institution of slavery and to emancipate slaves." The adoption of so remarkable a measure was the clearest evidence that the Confederates were vanquished. The measure came too late to be effectual, as the Confederacy's doom was sealed already.

Proposed
Confed-
erate
Arming
of the
Slaves.

For some months Francis Preston Blair, Sr., of Maryland—the father of ex-Postmaster-General Montgomery Blair—had been endeavoring, on his own responsibility, to facilitate the restoration of peace to the country; and on the 3d of February, 1865, a peace conference was held on board the steamer *City Queen*, at Hampton Roads,

Peace
Confer-
ence at
Hampton
Roads.

Virginia, between President Lincoln and Secretary Seward, on the part of the National government, and Vice President Alexander Hamilton Stephens, Robert Mercer Taliaferro Hunter of Virginia and John Archibald Campbell of Alabama, on the part of the Southern Confederacy; the Confederate commissioners having obtained a safe-conduct through the Union lines and down the James river to Hampton Roads and to return. The conference failed, as President Lincoln and his Secretary of State would treat only on the basis of the integrity of the whole Union and the abolition of slavery, while the Confederate representatives were authorized by Jefferson Davis to treat only on the basis of the independence of the Confederate States. Davis wrote to Mr. Lincoln that he was anxious to see peace made "between the two countries." Mr. Lincoln replied that he was just as anxious to see peace restored "to our common country."

**President Lincoln's
Second
Inaugural
Address.**

On March 4, 1865, Abraham Lincoln was inaugurated President of the United States for a second term. His inaugural address on this occasion breathed charity and conciliation toward the Confederates still in arms against the National government. The following is this famous address:

"Fellow Countrymen: At this second appearing to take the oath of the Presidential office there is less occasion for an extended address than there was at the first. Then a statement, somewhat in detail, of a course to be pursued seemed very fitting and proper. Now, at the expiration of four years, during which public declarations have constantly been called forth on every point and phase of the great contest which still absorbs the attention and engrosses the energies of the Nation, little that is new could be presented.

"The progress of our arms, upon which all else chiefly depends, is, I trust, reasonably satisfactory and encouraging to all. With high hopes for the future, no prediction in regard to it is ventured. On the occasion corresponding to this four years ago all thoughts were anxiously directed to an impending civil war. All dreaded it, all sought to avoid it. While the inaugural address was being delivered from this place, devoted altogether to saving the Union without war, insurgent agents were in the city seeking to destroy it without war, seeking to dissolve the Union and divide the effects by negotiation. Both parties deprecated war; but one of them would make war rather than let the Nation survive, and the other would accept war rather than let it perish; and the war came.

"One-eighth of the whole population were colored slaves and distributed generally over the Union, but located in the southern part of it. These slaves constituted a peculiar and powerful interest. All knew that this interest was somehow the cause of the war. To

strengthen, perpetuate and extend this interest was the object for which the insurgents would rend the Union by war, while government claimed no right to do more than to restrict the territorial enlargement of it. Neither party expected the magnitude or the duration which it has already attained. Neither anticipated that the cause of the conflict might cease even before the conflict itself should cease. Each looked for an easier triumph and a result less fundamental and astounding. Both read the same Bible and pray to the same God, and each invokes His aid against the other. It may seem strange that any man should ask a just God's assistance in wringing his bread from the sweat of other men's faces.

"But let us not judge, that we be not judged. The prayer of both should not be answered. That of neither has been answered fully. The Almighty has his own purposes. Woe unto the world because of offenses, for it must needs be that offenses come; but woe unto that man by whom the offense cometh."

"If we shall suppose that American slavery is one of these offenses which, in the providence of God, must needs come, but which, having continued through His appointed time, He now wills to remove, and that He gives to both North and South this terrible war as the woe due to those by whom the offense came, shall we discern therein any departure from those divine attributes which the believers in a living God always ascribe to Him.

"Fondly do we hope, fervently do we pray, that this mighty scourge of war may speedily pass away. Yet, if God wills that it continue until all the wealth piled by the bondman's two hundred and fifty years of unrequited toil shall be sunk and until every drop of blood drawn with the lash shall be paid by another drawn with the sword, as was said three thousand years ago, so still it must be said, that the judgments of the Lord are true and righteous altogether.

"With malice toward none, with charity for all, with firmness in the right as God gives us to see the right, let us strive on to finish the work we are in, to bind up the Nation's wound, to care for him who shall have borne the battle and for his widow and his orphans, to do all which may achieve and cherish a just and lasting peace among ourselves and with all nations."

The military events of the first few months of 1865 made it evident that the Confederacy was rapidly toppling to its fall. One Confederate defeat and loss followed another in rapid succession. The first Union victory of the year was the capture of Fort Fisher.

After the port of Mobile had been closed to blockade-runners by Farragut's victories in August, 1864, Wilmington, North Carolina, was the only port for blockade-running left to the Confederates. A

Doom
of the
Confed-
eracy.

Expeditions against and Capture of Fort Fisher.

Union military and naval expedition under General Butler and Admiral Porter had been sent against Fort Fisher, at the mouth of the Cape Fear River, in December, 1865. Porter's fleet bombarded the fort and troops were landed on Christmas day, but as General Butler considered the fort too strong to be taken by assault he withdrew his troops and relinquished the attack. General Grant promptly ordered General Alfred Howe Terry with eight thousand troops to coöperate with Admiral Porter's fleet in an attack on Fort Fisher. Under cover of a fire from the fleet, Terry landed his troops on January 13, 1865; and, after Admiral Porter's bombardment had continued two days, Terry's troops carried Fort Fisher by storm, January 15, 1865. With the surrender of the fort, its garrison of two thousand Confederate troops became prisoners of war.

Evacuation of Forts Caswell and Anderson and of Wilmington.

The capture of Fort Fisher was followed the next morning by the evacuation and blowing-up of Fort Gaswell and other defenses by the Confederates, who thus relinquished the entire control of the mouth of the Cape Fear River. On February 9th Terry was reinforced by General Schofield with twelve thousand troops from Thomas's victorious army in Tennessee; and Schofield took command of the combined forces, twenty thousand strong, which then advanced on Wilmington. The Confederates evacuated Fort Anderson and Wilmington, after burning the iron-clad rams *Tallahassee* and *Chickamauga*; and Schofield and Terry took possession of Wilmington on Washington's birthday, February 22, 1865.

Sherman's Invasion of South Carolina.

During his six weeks' stay at Savannah, General Sherman assigned to the negroes who had followed his army the abandoned Sea Islands and rice fields on the coast of South Carolina and Georgia. On February 1, 1865, Sherman left Savannah, his army crossing the Savannah river at different points, and invaded South Carolina, thus beginning his great march through the Carolinas. He sent the Seventeenth corps under General Francis Preston Blair by water to Port Royal to threaten Charleston from that point. The extreme left wing of the army under General Slocum was supported by General Kilpatrick's cavalry. The Confederate cavalry under General Joseph Wheeler had felled trees everywhere in Sherman's path to obstruct his advance; but Sherman marched northward, driving small bodies of Confederate troops before him. By menacing Charleston he held Hardee there to defend it. By threatening Augusta, Georgia, he detained another Confederate force there.

Sherman's Occupation of Columbia.

Continuing his march northward, Sherman entered Columbia, the capital of South Carolina, on February 17th. The Confederate cavalry under General Wade Hampton had set fire to large piles of cotton bales before evacuating the city, thus destroying a large part



THE PURSUIT

From the Painting by W. Tregear

of the city, which was saved from destruction only by the Union troops. Sherman's occupation of Columbia caused Hardee to evacuate Charleston on the same day; and on the following day, February 18, 1865, that city was taken possession of by National colored troops. Before evacuating Charleston, Hardee destroyed gunboats, rice and many thousands of bales of cotton and fired the city, the flames spreading ruin on every side before they were extinguished by the Union troops. Thus this city—which the Northern people called “the Cradle of the Rebellion”—after withstanding a siege of nearly two years, was finally taken by the movements of an army many miles distant.

Evacuation of
Charleston.

Sherman invaded North Carolina, after spreading desolation over a tract forty miles across South Carolina, Beauregard with Hood's shattered forces retreating before him, while Kilpatrick's cavalry had frequent spirited skirmishes with the Confederate cavalry under Wheeler and Wade Hampton. Sherman's whole army finally reached Fayetteville, North Carolina, March 12, 1865, being now confronted by an army of forty thousand Confederates under General Joseph Eccleston Johnston, composed of the remnant of Hood's army under Beauregard, the force under Hardee from Charleston and other troops.

Sherman's Invasion of North Carolina.

After halting at Fayetteville three days, Sherman resumed his march northward, himself leading the main body of his army toward Goldsboro', while the left wing under Slocum advanced toward Raleigh, covered by Kilpatrick's cavalry. Slocum defeated Hardee at the head of twenty thousand Confederates at Averysboro', March 16, 1865, each side losing about four hundred and fifty men. Hardee retreated, and Slocum moved toward Goldsboro'. At Bentonville, Slocum was attacked by Johnston's army, March 19th, but repulsed six assaults of the Confederates upon his lines and held his ground at nightfall. That night Slocum was joined by Sherman; and when Johnston found his army of forty thousand men confronted by Sherman's sixty thousand the Confederate general retreated to Smithfield, while Sherman moved to Goldsboro'. In the battle of Bentonville each army lost over sixteen hundred men.

Battles of Averysboro and Bentonville.

Sherman reached Goldsboro', March 22, 1865, where he was reinforced by Schofield and Terry, who had fought their way from Wilmington, driving the Confederates before them. Sherman then sailed in a swift steamer from Newbern to City Point, General Grant's headquarters, where he held a consultation with President Lincoln and Generals Grant and Meade, March 27th, and returned to Goldsboro' three days later.

Sherman Reinforced.

At Goldsboro' Sherman gave his weary army a rest. In his march from Savannah he had lost three thousand men, but he had cut a wide swath of desolation through both the Carolinas and had forced the

His Visit to Grant.

Sherman's Achievements.

Confederates to abandon the seacoast from Savannah to Newbern. Since beginning his campaign against Johnston, early in May, 1864, he had marched more than eight hundred miles, beaten Johnston, out-generalized Hood and Beauregard, driven away Hardee and Wade Hampton, taken almost every city and town along his route, torn up railways and bridges, destroyed foundries, mills, workshops and store-houses, subsisted his army upon the country through which he marched and desolated a tract forty miles wide. He was now in a position to coöperate with Grant in his operations before Petersburg and Richmond.

**Siege and
Capture
of Mobile.**

Active operations against Mobile had been suspended during the winter; but in March, 1865, they were resumed by General Edward Richard Spriggs Canby, the commander of the Gulf department, and Rear-Admiral Henry Knox Thatcher. General Canby, with over twenty-five thousand National troops, moved against Mobile. The Seventeenth corps reached Dauphin Island on March 12th; and the Thirteenth corps, under General Gordon Granger, moved up from Mobile Point to strike Mobile on the east; while General Frederick Steele moved from Pensacola, with a division of colored troops on Blakely, and a brigade was transported from Cedar Point under a heavy fire of shells from the National iron-clad vessels. An active siege of Mobile was begun on March 25th, in front of Blakely and Spanish Fort, the principal defenses of Mobile, by both the National fleet and army. Both these posts fell on April 9th—the day of Lee's surrender—and during the next two days about nine thousand of the Confederate garrison under General Daniel Herndon Maury evacuated Mobile and fled up the Alabama river. On April 12, 1865, the city of Mobile was surrendered with the five thousand troops of the garrison still remaining in the city. The siege and capture cost the National forces about twenty-five hundred men.

**Wilson's
Raid
through
Alabama
and
Georgia.**

While the siege of Mobile was in progress General Thomas sent out two important cavalry expeditions. One of these expeditions, consisting of thirteen thousand cavalry and two thousand infantry, under General James Harrison Wilson, made a destructive raid through Alabama and Georgia, starting with sixty days' supplies transported by a train of two hundred and fifty wagons. Wilson started for the Tennessee river late in February and swept southward through Alabama, menacing Columbus, Mississippi, and Tuscaloosa, Alabama. After encountering a Confederate detachment under General Philip Dale Roddy on the Cahawba, he pushed on with nine thousand cavalry and took Selma, on the Alabama river, April 2, 1865, after a spirited conflict with seven thousand Confederates under General Forrest, and destroyed the Confederate arsenal and armory and extensive foundries at that

city. After a week's rest Wilson resumed his raid, and took possession of Montgomery, the capital of Alabama, April 12th—the day of the capture of Mobile—just after the Confederates had burned one hundred and twenty-five thousand bales of cotton. He then continued his raid eastward into Georgia, destroying railways and other property, and captured Columbus, Georgia, with twelve hundred prisoners, after a severe fight, and there also destroyed a large amount of property. On the same day a part of Wilson's force captured Fort Tyler, on the Chattahoochee river, at West Point, Georgia. Wilson crossed the Chattahoochee and reached Macon on April 21st with his triumphant raiders.

The other cavalry expedition sent out by General Thomas, under the command of General George Stoneman, swept through South-western Virginia to Salisbury, in North Carolina, destroying the railways and bridges by which the Confederate armies under Lee and Johnston, if defeated, might attempt to retreat. Stoneman started from Knoxville, Tennessee, late in March, destroying the Virginia and Tennessee Railway from Wytheville, and next the railway between Danville, Virginia, and Greensboro', North Carolina. On the way to Salisbury he routed a Confederate force, capturing fourteen cannon and nearly fourteen hundred prisoners. In Salisbury he destroyed a vast amount of public property, after which he returned to East Tennessee with his victorious raiders.

During the winter Confederate cavalry and guerrillas under Mosby, Rosser, McNeil and others had been somewhat active in West Virginia and in the vicinity of the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad, but were closely watched by Sheridan from his headquarters at Winchester. In compliance with an order from Grant, Sheridan left Winchester with ten thousand cavalry late in February, 1865, and made a raid on Lee's communications and against Lynchburg, the great storehouse of Lee's supplies. He rapidly swept up the Shenandoah Valley, through Staunton, and almost annihilated Early's forces of twenty-five hundred Confederate cavalry at Waynesboro', March 2, 1865, capturing eighteen hundred prisoners. He then pushed on to Charlottesville, destroying the railroad on the way, and at Charlottesville he destroyed manufactories, bridges and other property. He then sent a part of his force to destroy the railway to Lynchburg, and with the remainder he pushed on and demolished the James River Canal, after which he passed around Lee's left flank to White House, and joined the Army of the Potomac on March 27, 1865, one month after he had left Winchester, taking position near Hatcher's Run. He carried out Grant's order to devastate the valley completely, destroying everything, so that a crow, in flying over the valley, would have to carry its food with it.

Stone-man's Raid in Virginia and North Carolina.

Sheridan's Destructive Raid through the Shenandoah Valley.

Sieges of Petersburg and Richmond.

During the winter of 1864-65 little of importance occurred at Petersburg and Richmond; and the Armies of the Potomac and the James, the latter under General Edward Otho Cresap Ord's command, remained quietly behind their intrenchments, but holding Lee's fifty thousand men with a tight grip. Only twice during the winter did Grant make any aggressive movements. One of these was early in December, when Meade sent Warren to destroy the Weldon railroad near the North Carolina border, December 7, 1864. The other was early in February, when two corps with cavalry were sent to Dinwiddie Court House, which resulted in a severe action near Hatcher's Run, February 5, 1865, in which the Union army lost two thousand men and the Confederates one thousand; but the Union lines were now permanently extended to that stream.

Second Battle of Hatcher's Run.

Lee's Desperate Situation.

Capture and Recapture of Fort Steadman.

Preparations for the Final Struggle.

Battle of Five Forks.

Lee now perceived to what Grant's movements were tending. South of him was Sherman. West of him was Thomas, with Stoneman's cavalry. North of him there was no hope. In his front Grant was ready to crush his army at one decisive blow. Sheridan's destructive operations thoroughly alarmed Lee, who saw that he must break through the Union lines and join Johnston in North Carolina if he would save his army and with it the Southern Confederacy. Lee made a desperate effort to break through Grant's lines by an attack on Fort Steadman, in front of Petersburg, March 26, 1865. He was at first successful and took the fort by assault, but it was recaptured the same day by Union troops under General John Frederick Hartrauft, and Lee was quickly driven back to his intrenchments with heavy loss.

Grant had now completed his arrangements for a final campaign. He called large bodies of troops from the Army of the James, on the north side of the James river before Richmond; and on March 29th he began an advance by pushing his left, consisting of Sheridan with his ten thousand cavalry and the Second and Fifth corps under General Andrew Atkinson Humphreys and General Gouverneur Kemble Warren, across Hatcher's Run. Seeing his peril, Lee left Longstreet with eight thousand men to hold Richmond against the depleted Army of the James under General Ord, and took all available troops from his intrenchments and massed them on his endangered right near Five Forks.

A terrific struggle ensued April 1, 1865. The Union left under Warren and Sheridan were almost defeated at first. Sheridan was driven from Five Forks to Dinwiddie Court House; but he finally gained a complete victory over Lee's right, capturing the Confederate artillery and more than five thousand prisoners. In the evening Grant opened a terrible cannonade all along his lines in front of Petersburg upon Lee's works and the city. At dawn the next morning, Sunday, April 2d, he made an assault upon the Confederate works all along the line



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SHERIDAN AT FIVE FORKS, APRIL 1, 1865



from the Appomattox river to Hatcher's Run. Longstreet had come from Richmond to Lee's assistance, but it was too late. The Confederates were driven to their inner intrenchments, with the loss of many prisoners. In all Lee had lost ten thousand men. General Ambrose Powell Hill was killed. That very Sunday morning Jefferson Davis, while in church, received the following telegram from Lee: "My lines are broken in three places; we can hold Petersburg no longer; Richmond must be evacuated this evening." The Confederate President at once left church without saying a word.

Lee's
Message
to Davis.

Consternation reigned in the Confederate capital that Sunday afternoon, when the Confederate troops evacuated that city and Petersburg. The President, the Cabinet and the Congress of the Confederacy fled toward Danville, thus putting an end to the Confederate government. Hundreds of citizens also fled. The next morning, Monday, April 3, 1865, Richmond was occupied by Union colored troops under General Godfrey Weitzel, who received the surrender of the city from Mayor Mayo. As in the case of Charleston and Columbia, South Carolina, Richmond was in flames when the National troops entered the city. Before leaving the city the Confederate authorities had caused the magazines and gunboats to be blown up and large warehouses filled with tobacco to be set on fire, and before the National troops entered the city nearly all the business portion of Richmond was in ashes. At an early hour the Stars and Stripes were raised over the Capitol, where the Stars and Bars had waved for four years. On the following day, April 4, 1865, President Lincoln, who had been at General Grant's headquarters at City Point for several days, made his appearance in Richmond, and, in the mansion of Jefferson Davis, the fugitive President of the Southern Confederacy, he publicly received many army officers and citizens. General Grant, whose conquering arms had reduced Richmond after a siege of ten months, did not enter the city until nearly a year afterward, when he visited the city, not as a conqueror, but as a private citizen.

Lee's
Evacua-
tion of
Rich-
mond.

Union
Occupa-
tion of
Rich-
mond.

President
Lincoln
in Rich-
mond.

Lee, with the Army of Northern Virginia, now reduced to thirty-five thousand men, had evacuated Petersburg on the very day of the evacuation of Richmond, Sunday, April 2, 1865, and fled westward toward Lynchburg, hoping to join Johnston in North Carolina. Grant hotly pursued with the Army of the Potomac, and many of the Confederate troops were captured on the way. Lee's retreat was intercepted by Sheridan near Amelia Court House, where Lee's army was further reduced by the capture of General Ewell and his entire corps, after a sharp fight, April 6th. Lee's retreat then became a rapid flight. The fleeing army abandoned their guns, wagons and all the equipage of war. Their provisions had become exhausted, and men and horses

Lee's
Flight
and
Grant's
Pursuit.

dropped by the wayside. Many of the Confederate troops threw away their arms and dispersed to their homes. During this retreat there was daily fighting, as Grant's pursuing host harassed Lee's fleeing army without cessation; the Confederate leader, whose brilliant military talents had upheld the Confederate cause so long, making the most desperate efforts to escape.

Lee's
Surrender
at Appo-
mattox
Court
House.

On Sunday morning, April 9, 1865, Lee failed in his last attempt to break through Grant's lines, at Appomattox Court House. Finding escape impossible, Lee met Grant at W. McLean's house, near Appomattox Court House, the same day, and surrendered what remained of the Army of Northern Virginia, less than twenty-seven thousand men. Grant's terms to his vanquished foe were most magnanimous. Lee's officers and troops were paroled on condition that they would not take up arms against the United States government until properly exchanged, while the officers were allowed to keep their horses, baggage and sidearms. The next day Lee issued an affectionate farewell to the officers and soldiers who had fought with such constancy by his side, and commended their valor, fortitude and devotion and their generous consideration for himself.

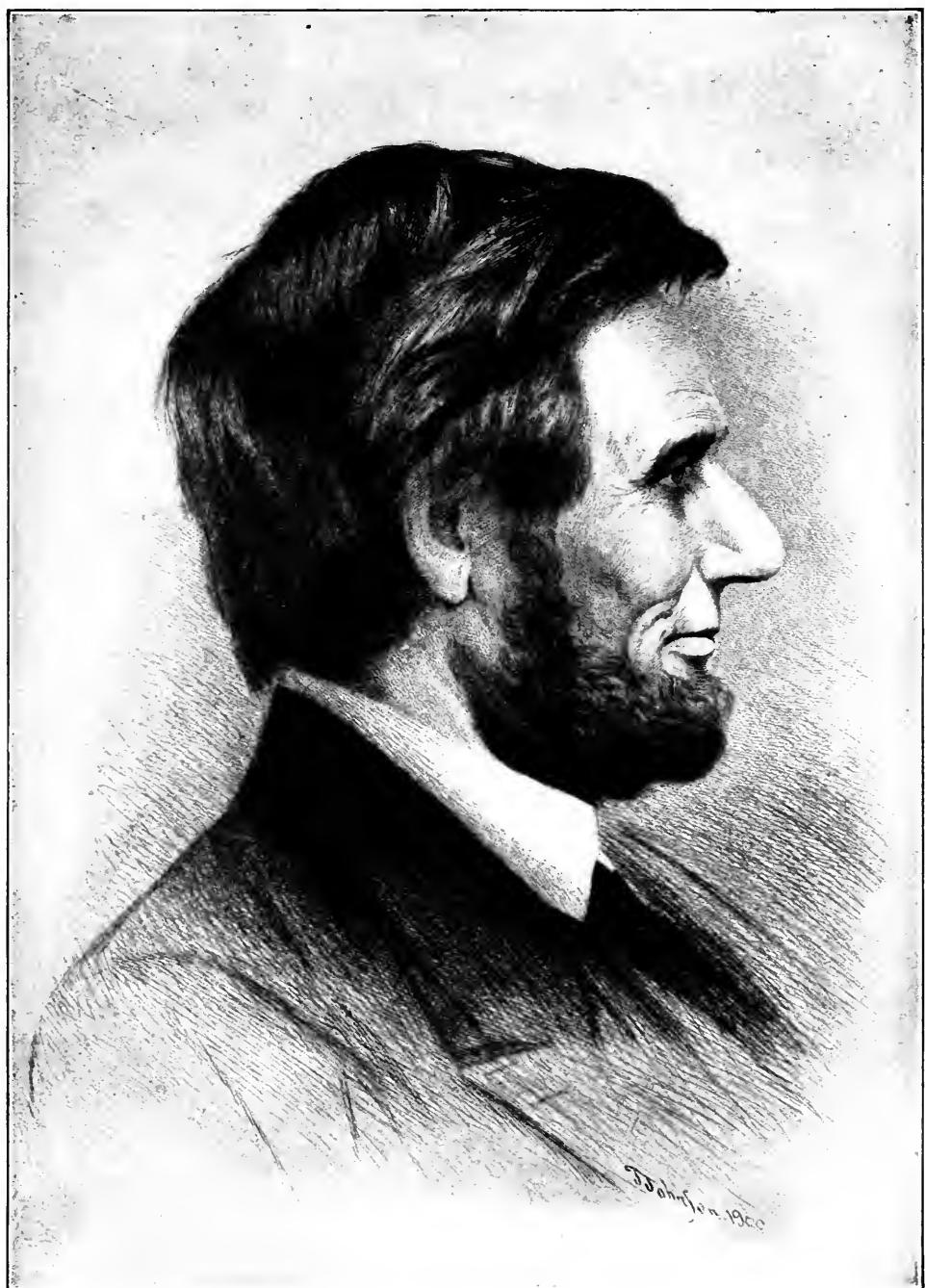
Rejoicing
in the
North.

Joy
Turned to
Sorrow.

Assassin-
ation of
President
Lincoln.

The surrender of Lee's army practically ended the Civil War and saved the Union, and the popular rejoicings in the Northern States knew no bounds. The news of the fall of Richmond, and Lee's surrender, a week later, was hailed with shouts, bonfires, pealing of bells and booming of cannon. But in the midst of this joy over the return of peace and the preservation of the Union, the American people suddenly became a nation of mourners when the news spread over the country that President Lincoln had been assassinated on the very day that General Robert Anderson raised the Stars and Stripes over Fort Sumter, on the fourth anniversary of his evacuation of the fort.

On the night of Good Friday, April 14, 1865, while Mr. Lincoln, with his wife, was seated in a private box in Ford's theater, in Washington, John Wilkes Booth, who had at one time been an actor in that theater, stole up behind the President and shot him through the head. The assassin, immediately after committing his tragical deed, leaped upon the stage, and, brandishing a large dagger, exclaimed, in the motto of Virginia: "*Sic semper tyrannis!*"—"May this ever be the fate of tyrants!" Then turning to the audience, still flourishing his dagger, he exclaimed: "*The South is avenged!*" and made his escape. At the same time the Secretary of State, William Henry Seward, while confined to his bed by an accident, and his son, Frederick William Seward, were wounded at their house by the dagger of another assassin; but both recovered. Mr. Lincoln died the next morning, April 15, 1865.



ABRAHAM LINCOLN

From the Etching by Thomas Johnson

The excitement over the assassination was most intense. A mingled feeling of horror, indignation and grief pervaded the country. Houses and stores were hung with black, and flags were draped in mourning. The murdered President's remains were honored with the most impressive funeral obsequies in Washington and throughout the country, after which they were conveyed to his home at Springfield, Illinois, where they now rest in a fine vault. The assassin was afterwards found in a barn in Virginia, and, refusing to surrender himself and showing resistance, the barn was set on fire, and he was shot by Sergeant Boston Corbett as he came out of the burning building. His accomplices in the assassination were tried by a military commission; and, upon conviction, four were hanged, one of them a woman, Mrs. Mary E. Surratt, while three were sentenced to imprisonment for life and one for six years.

About noon on the day that Mr. Lincoln died, April 15, 1865, Andrew Johnson, the Vice President, was sworn in as President of the United States by Chief Justice Chase. President Johnson retained President Lincoln's Cabinet, with Mr. Seward at its head.

The remaining history of the Civil War is soon told. Lee's surrender destroyed the last hope of the Southern Confederacy. On hearing the news of that event, General Sherman left Goldsboro', North Carolina, and resumed operations against Johnston, who retreated from Smithfield to Raleigh, the capital of the State, burning the bridges over the Neuse river and destroying the railway behind him. Sherman pursued closely and occupied Raleigh, April 13th, after which he resumed his pursuit of Johnston to Greenesboro', where Johnston asked for a conference with his pursuer, April 14th. The two generals met April 17th, and agreed upon terms of surrender which practically ignored the results of the war and restored to all the Confederates every social and political right and privilege which they had enjoyed before the war. The National government rejected these conditions and sent General Grant to order an immediate resumption of hostilities. Thereupon Johnston surrendered his army of thirty-one thousand men to Sherman, April 26, 1865, on the same generous terms which Grant had accorded to Lee. Thus Greenesboro'—the site of the Revolutionary battle of Guilford Court House between General Nathaniel Greene and Lord Cornwallis—became noted also as the site of one of the closing events of the Great Civil War. Johnston, who was, like Lee, an honorable man, highly esteemed, issued an affectionate farewell to his troops, advising them to become good citizens and obey the laws of the United States. Johnston himself became a good citizen and honestly accepted the results of the war, and some years later he represented a Virginia district in the National House of Representatives.

Grief and
Indigna-
tion.

Obse-
quies.

Fate of
the As-
sassins.

President
Johnson,
A. D.
1865—
1869.

Johns-
ton's
Surren-
der.

Other Surrenders and Close of the Civil War.

General Canby received the surrender of the remaining Confederate forces east of the Mississippi from General Richard Taylor, May 8, 1865, and the surrender of the Confederate forces west of the Mississippi from General Edmund Kirby Smith, May 26, 1865. Regular armed opposition to the National government was thus ended, and the announcement that guerrillas found in arms against United States authority would be dealt with as outlaws was followed by the speedy dispersion of all guerrilla bands. Among the most famous of the guerrilla leaders was Colonel John Singleton Mosby, of Virginia.

The Shenandoah.

All the vessels of the Confederate navy were soon surrendered, except the *Shenandoah*, commanded by Captain Waddell, who refused to credit the news of the overthrow of the Southern Confederacy and continued a destructive cruise among the American whalers in the North Pacific for some months, burning a whaling fleet on June 28, 1865. He at length sailed to England and surrendered his vessel to the British authorities, who delivered it to the United States.

Flight and Capture of Jefferson Davis.

After leaving Richmond, Jefferson Davis, the late President of the Confederate States of America, fled to Danville, Virginia, whence he continued his flight southward for the purpose of escaping from the country. He was accompanied by his family and his Postmaster-General, John Henninger Reagan, of Texas. General James Harrison Wilson sent cavalry in quest of the fugitive chief; and on May 11, 1865, Davis was captured near Irwingsville, Georgia, by a part of the Fourth Michigan cavalry, under the command of Lieutenant-Colonel B. D. Pritchard, and was brought to Fortress Monroe, where he was kept a close prisoner for two years under the charge of young Major-General Nelson Appleton Miles; after which he was released on bail, charged with the crime of treason, May, 1867, Horace Greeley being one of his bondsmen. He was never brought to trial, and died in Mississippi, December 11, 1889. During his later years he wrote a *History of the Rise and Fall of the Confederate Government*.

The Other Confederate Leaders.

Alexander Hamilton Stephens, the late Vice President of the Confederacy, was arrested at his home at Crawfordsville, Georgia, about the time of Davis' capture; and he and Postmaster-General Reagan were sent as prisoners to Fort Warren, at Boston, but were released in the fall of the same year. Stephens was a member of the National House of Representatives both before and after the war, and died in the fall of 1882, while Governor of Georgia. During his later years he wrote a *History of the War between the States*. Reagan was afterward a United States Senator from Texas. Judah Philip Benjamin, of Louisiana, the Confederate Secretary of State, escaped from the country and spent the rest of his life in England, where he attained fame and fortune as a practitioner at the bar. John Mitchel, an

Irish patriot of 1848, who had been obliged to flee from Ireland to escape British vengeance for his part in William Smith O'Brien's Rebellion, was arrested in Richmond for his part in the Confederate cause, but was released by President Johnson several months later. Thus John Mitchel had taken part in rebellions against both the British and United States governments.

The National armies at the close of the war numbered over a million men, and the National navy had over fifty thousand. Within a few months after the cessation of hostilities the greater part of these forces were disbanded, and the soldiers and seamen returned to their homes. No less wonderful than the alacrity with which peaceful citizens rushed to arms in 1861 was the ease and rapidity with which vast armies, surrounded by "all the pomp and circumstance of war," in the course of half a year resumed their duties as private citizens, engaged in the blessed pursuits of peace. The "sweet angel of peace" again hovered over the land. On June 2, 1865, General Grant issued a stirring farewell address to the "Soldiers of the Armies of the United States," commanding their heroism, their endurance, their patriotic devotion and their brilliant achievements.

The blockade of the Southern ports was raised and commerce resumed its sway. The military prisons on both sides were opened and the prisoners returned to their homes. The released Confederate captives were kindly sent to their homes at the expense of the National government. The Confederate soldiers, upon their return home, also at once devoted themselves to the arts of peace with the same zeal and alacrity with which they had taken up the sword four years before, and applied themselves diligently to building up their section and repairing the wastes of four years of horrid, cruel, devastating civil war.

Edward Albert Pollard, of Richmond, the Southern historian of the "*Lost Cause*," says that the war "closed on a spectacle of ruin the greatest of modern times. There were eleven great States lying prostrate; their capital all absorbed; their fields desolate; their towns and cities ruined; their public works torn to pieces by armies; their system of labor overturned; the fruits of the toil of generations all swept into a chaos of destruction." Pollard illustrates the poverty of the South at the close of the war by citing the case of South Carolina, which State in 1860 had property, including slaves, valued at four hundred million dollars, and which lost three-fourths of this wealth by the war, the only thing left being lands which had depreciated immensely in value.

The whole number of men called in the Union service was over two million six hundred and ninety thousand, of whom about one million

Disband-
ment
of the
National
Armies.

The
Returned
Confed-
erate
Soldiers.

Ruin and
Poverty
of the
South.

Forces Engaged and Losses on Each Side.

four hundred and ninety thousand were in actual service. Nearly sixty thousand were killed in battle, and about thirty-five thousand were mortally wounded. One hundred and eighty-four thousand died of disease in camps and hospitals. Thus about three hundred thousand perished on the Union side. About the same number of Confederates perished, thus making a total loss of six hundred thousand. About four hundred thousand were crippled or disabled for life on both sides, thus making a total loss of a million able-bodied men to the country.

Prisoners on Both Sides.

At the close of the war over sixty-three thousand Confederate prisoners were released. The number surrendered and paroled in the Confederate armies was over one hundred and seventy-four thousand. The records of the War Department show that two hundred and twenty thousand Confederates were made prisoners during the war, of whom nearly twenty-six thousand died of wounds or disease during their captivity; while of one hundred and twenty-six thousand Union soldiers captured, nearly twenty-three thousand died while prisoners. It is estimated that the whole number of Union captives was one hundred and ninety-six thousand, of whom forty-one thousand died in captivity.

Sufferings of Union Prisoners.

The treatment and sufferings of Union prisoners of war in Confederate prisons form a dismal chapter in the history of the great civil conflict. At first there were difficulties in the way of exchanging prisoners because the National government, regarding the action of the seceded States in severing their connection with the Union as rebellion, shrank from such exchange as implying recognition of the belligerency of the Confederates. Afterward there were additional difficulties because the Confederates would exchange only white prisoners, claiming the right to treat the colored prisoners and their white officers as criminals. Under any circumstances these delays would have been distressing enough, but in the case of the Southern prisons they were heart-rending. Concerning the Richmond prisons a report of a Confederate Congressional Committee to the Confederate Secretary of War in September, 1862, used the following words: "Terrible beyond description."

Libby, Belle Isle and Andersonville.

But the worst appeared during the last year of the war, when loud complaints were made in the North that Union prisoners confined in Libby Prison, in Richmond; on Belle Isle, in the James river; at Danville, in Virginia; at Salisbury, in North Carolina, and especially at Andersonville, in Georgia, were tortured and starved. These prisoners in some places were in jails, warehouses and covered railway bridges; but at Andersonville and other places they were in pens, where thousands of them perished from torture and starvation. Concerning the prison pens at Andersonville a Confederate adjutant and inspector-general, in a report to the Confederate Secretary of War in August, 1864, used the following words: "A reproach to us as a na-

tion." A committee of the United States Sanitary Commission, after a thorough investigation, made a report in September, 1864, which spoke thus: "Tens of thousands of helpless men have been and are now being disabled and destroyed by a process as certain as poison. * * * This spectacle is daily beheld and allowed by the rebel government. * * * The conclusion is unavoidable that these privations and sufferings have been designedly inflicted." The Confederate authorities charged that Secretary of War Stanton refused to exchange prisoners when requested to do so by the Confederate Commissioner, Robert Ould, on the ground that the Confederate army would thus receive back a lot of well-fed, able-bodied soldiers, while the Union army would receive in exchange only a lot of helpless men, unfit for further service. A few months after the close of the war Captain Wirz, the keeper of the Andersonville prison pens and a native of Switzerland, was arrested and tried on charges of inhumanity and was convicted and hanged.

Sanitary
and
Christian
Commis-
sions.

The persevering devotion of the Northern people to those who fought their battles forms one of the brightest chapters in the history of the Great Civil War. No sooner had men sprung to arms than other men and large numbers of women began to minister to the wants of the soldiers and their families. Several *Soldiers' Aid Societies* were formed, out of which grew the *United States Sanitary Commission*, which an order from the Secretary of War in June, 1861, styled "a commission of inquiry and advice in respect of the sanitary interests of the United States forces." This Sanitary Commission was a charitable organization whose object was to do what the National government was leaving undone rather than what the government was doing; and the Commission was kept very busy, as there was a great deal to be done in the line for which it was instituted. Its headquarters were in New York city, and its posts were all over the loyal States; while its workers, both men and women, were found in every camp and in every hospital, watching the well, nursing the sick, transporting the wounded, protecting the discharged, supplying medicine, food, clothing, books and even games along the Union lines. Another charitable organization of the Civil War was the *Christian Commission*, which was formed in November, 1861, with immediate reference to the spiritual wants of the soldiers; but its agents were as active as those of the Sanitary Commission in relieving the physical necessities of the sick and wounded soldiers. Together these two private philanthropic associations of the Northern States labored for the relief of human suffering and for the promotion of human advancement, their agents being found in every camp and hospital and on every battlefield, administering to the wants and necessities of both Union and Confederate sick and wounded and giving Christian instruction and consolation to all who would accept

them. The two Commissions expended at least thirty millions, in money and stores, in their benevolent work, and distributed the supplies and subscriptions which came in one steady stream from all classes, from rich and poor, from high and low, in individual offerings or in various combinations and associations, the largest sums being raised by fairs held in New York, Philadelphia and Boston.

**Miss
Clara
Barton.**

The Florence Nightingale of the great American Civil War was Miss Clara Barton, who devoted herself to ministering to the sick and wounded soldiers of the great struggle and who afterwards went to Europe and did hospital work in the Franco-German War. She aided the Red Cross movement and founded the Red Cross Society, which did effective philanthropic work in the Chino-Japanese War. In 1896 she went to Turkey to aid the persecuted Armenians, and during the Spanish-American War she had charge of distributing the supplies furnished by the United States government to its soldiers in Cuba.

**Freed-
men's
Aid
Societies
and
Freed-
men's
Bureau.**

There were other philanthropic agencies during the Civil War, which deserve a brief notice. The *Union Commission* brought succor to the people of the regions desolated by the war. The *Freedmen's Aid Societies* afforded aid and instruction to the emancipated colored race. At the close of the war a *Freedmen's Bureau* was established and was placed under the charge of General Oliver Otis Howard. Contributions to all established charities and to religious and literary institutions were more liberal during the Civil War than every before, and during the same period a ship-load of provisions was sent to the starving operatives of England.

**The
National
Debt.**

The war at its close cost the National government about three and a half million dollars daily; and when the mighty conflict ended, the National debt amounted to three thousand million dollars—three-fourths as much as Great Britain's national debt, which had resulted from more than a century's warfare, from the reign of King William III. to the overthrow of Napoleon Bonaparte (1689–1815). The paper money, as represented by Greenbacks, National Bank notes and fractional currency, were the only circulating medium for eleven years after the war, until the restoration of fractional silver coin in the spring of 1876; and specie payments were not resumed until January 1, 1879, when such a consummation resulted in accordance with an act of Congress passed in January, 1875.

**Entire
Cost
of the
Civil
War.**

The entire pecuniary cost of the Civil War to the National government and the loyal States must have been at least five million dollars. Indirectly the war involved immense losses in production and productive force, as has every great war—losses which cannot be estimated accurately. The great cost of the war was personal—the death of thousands on battlefields, in prisons and in hospitals, and, after their

discharge from the army, of wounds or disease incurred in the service, along with the pain and privation occasioned by their loss to many thousands in addition. This was the real sacrifice in which the dying and the living both shared. Still few would have shrunk from this sacrifice if they would have had the power; as they considered the great results of the struggle—the salvation of the Union and the abolition of chattel slavery—as full compensation for the suffering and sacrifice and as ample consolation for their devotion in a great cause.

Like Sir Ashley Cooper, afterwards the renowned Earl of Shaftesbury, who changed sides during the Great Civil War in England between Charles I. and Parliament, fighting first on the king's side and afterward on the side of Parliament; so, in the Great Civil War in the United States, Henry Morton Stanley, afterwards so famous as an African explorer, also changed sides, fighting first in the Confederate army and after being taken prisoner by the Union forces enlisting in the United States navy and fighting thereafter on the Union side.

Case of
Henry
Morton
Stanley.

The following important events occurred on Sunday—the fall of Fort Sumter, the first battle of Bull Run, the fall of Vicksburg, the fight between the *Kearsarge* and the *Alabama*, the fall of Richmond, the surrender of Lee. The same man—W. McLean—occupied the lands, a hundred miles apart, on which occurred the first great battle of the Civil War—Bull Run—and on which was struck the death-blow to the Confederacy—Lee's surrender—at the times respectively when those events occurred. His Holiness Pope Pius IX. was the only sovereign ruler who officially recognized the Confederate President, addressing him in a letter thus: "To His Excellency Jefferson Davis, President of the Confederate States of America."

Interesting Facts

The Civil War was the occasion of some celebrated war songs on both sides. In the North a very noted war hymn was Mrs. Julia Ward Howe's *Battle Hymn of the Republic*. The most noted writer of war lyrics was George F. Root, of Chicago; among whose most widely known productions were *Just Before the Battle, Mother*, and *Tramp, Tramp, Tramp, the Boys Are Marching*. *The Battle Cry of Freedom* and *O, Wrap the Flag Around Me, Boys*, were also very popular war lyrics. Other war songs were *John Brown's Song* and *Marching through Georgia*. The most noted Confederate war songs were *Hurrah, Hurrah for the Bonnie Blue Flag* and *My Maryland, My Maryland*. *Dixie* was a popular Southern song, written a few years before the Civil War.

War
Songs.

Thus closed the most terrible civil war in the history of the world—a civil war in which almost nine hundred (892) regular engagements were fought. This terrific struggle—called the *War of the Rebellion*, or the *Civil War*, in the North, and styled the *War of Southern Independence*, or the *War between the States*, in the South—fought on the

Great
Results
of the
Civil
War.

part of the South for the establishment of an independent Confederacy of Slave States and on the part of the North for the preservation of the Union of States, was thus ended in the maintenance of the Union and in the abolition of chattel slavery in every part of the Union. The institution of slavery, which had prevailed south of Mason and Dixon's Line, the Ohio river and Iowa, and which had been the apple of discord between the North and the South for so many years, was against the spirit of the age throughout Christendom and the civilized world. Even the European nations which sympathized with the Confederates in their struggle for independence were opposed to the institution of chattel slavery, and it was probably owing to this fact that the Confederate States did not receive foreign recognition and assistance. The result for which the abolitionists had labored so long was finally accomplished; and William Lloyd Garrison, Wendell Phillips and Gerrit Smith lived to see the triumph of their cause. A daughter of John Brown, whose foolhardy attempt to free the slaves of Virginia in 1859 brought him to the gallows, taught a colored school near Norfolk, Virginia, in the house once owned and occupied by Governor Henry Alexander Wise, who had approved the sentence and signed the death-warrant for the execution of that famous abolitionist martyr.

SECTION IX.—RECONSTRUCTION AND THE RESTORED UNION (A. D. 1865–1898).

Difficulties.

PEACE had its difficulties no less than war. The vanquished were willing to confess their defeat, and the victors were ready to use their triumph without abusing it. But the Nation, split in two, was to be reunited; and society, quivering with agitation and with the passions of four years of terrible civil war, was to be calmed. The slaveholding class was broken up, and the former slaves were suddenly thrown from slavery to freedom. The entire American people were accustomed to war and to all its consequences, public and private. Civil authority had outgrown its former traditions. The President and his Cabinet, Congress, the State and municipal governments, had become habituated to the exercise of arbitrary powers, more or less. Large appropriations and expenditures of money had become so general as to excite a concern otherwise than healthful and beneficent. Everywhere were habits and ideas undergoing change and not immediately for the better. On the contrary, the high qualities called forth by the National peril appeared to be sinking beneath the flood of corruption and indifference which showed itself when the danger had passed. Under these condi-

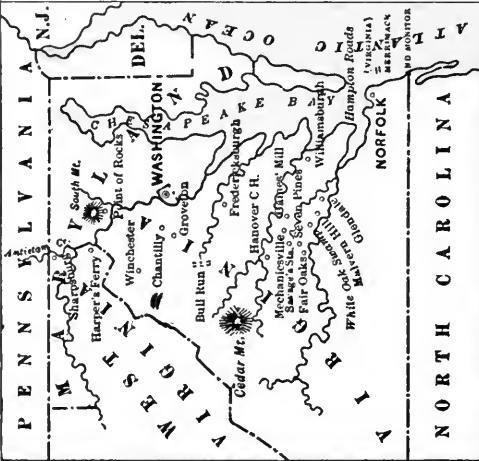


1861

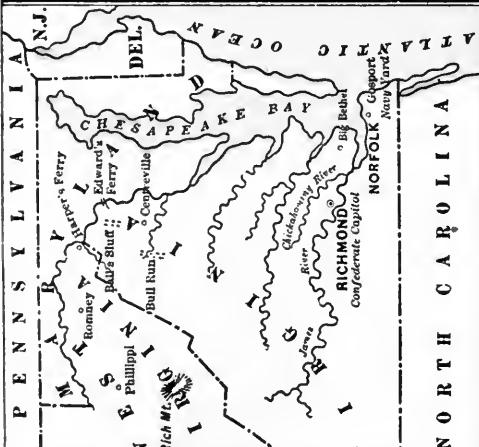
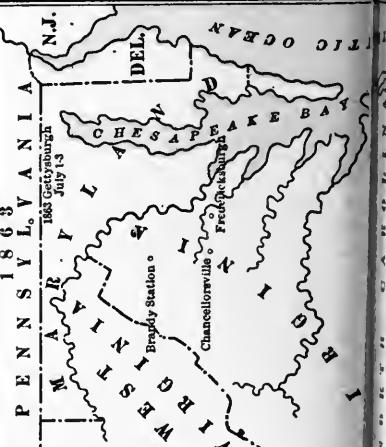
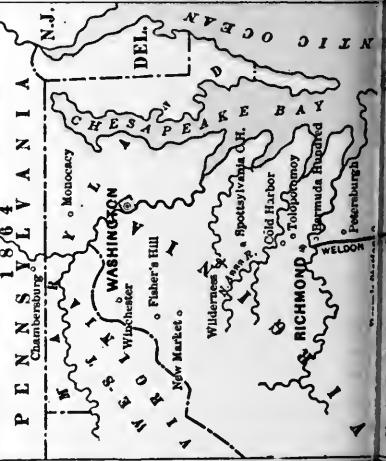
1862

PENNSYLVANIA SUCCEEDING STATES

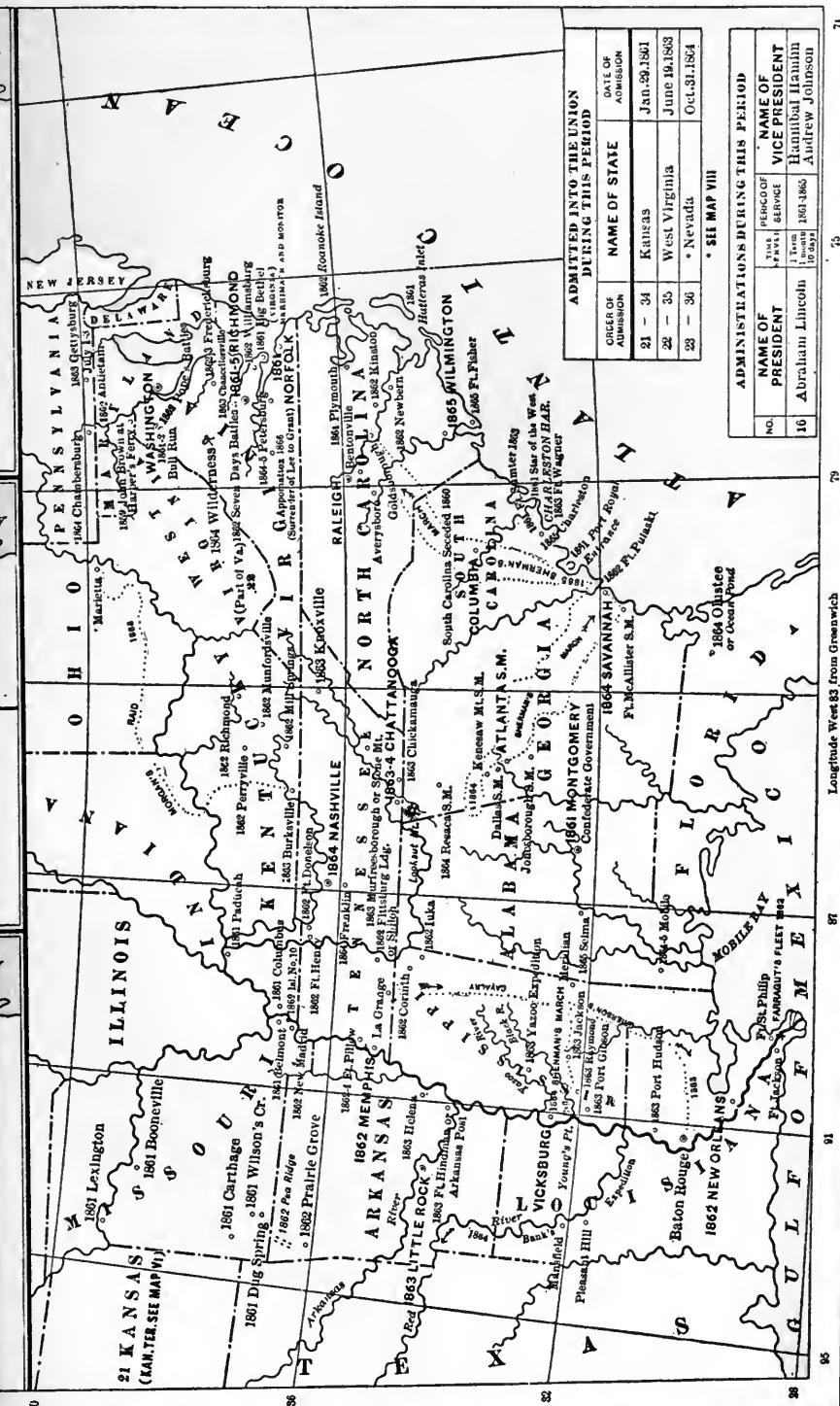
| NAME OF STATE | DATE OF SECESSION |
|----------------|-------------------|
| South Carolina | Dec. 20, 1860 |
| Mississippi | Jan. 9, 1861 |
| Florida | " 10, " |
| Alabama | " 11, " |
| Georgia | " 19, " |
| Louisiana | " 20, " |
| Texas | Feb. 1, " |
| Virginia | Apr. 17, " |
| Arkansas | May 6, " |
| Tennessee | " 6, " |
| North Carolina | " 20, " |



NORTH CAROLINA



NORTH CAROLINA NORTHERN CAROLINA NORTH CAROLINA



| ADMITTED INTO THE UNION DURING THIS PERIOD | | | |
|---|------------------|----------------------|-------------------------------------|
| ORDER OF ADMISSION | NAME OF STATE | DATE OF ADMISSION | NAME OF PRESIDENT |
| 21 | Kansas | Jan. 29, 1861 | Habubal Haunin John Brown |
| 22 | West Virginia | June 19, 1863 | John B. Thompson John C. Frémont |
| 23 | Nevada | Oct. 31, 1864 | Andrew Johnson |

* SEE MAP VIII

| NO. | NAME OF PRESIDENT | TERM OF SERVICE | NAME OF VICE PRESIDENT |
|-----|----------------------|-----------------------------------|----------------------------------|
| 16 | Abraham Lincoln | Two years 1861-1865 10 days | Habubal Haunin Andrew Johnson |

75 76 77 78 79 80 81 82 83 84 85 86 87 88 89 90 91 92 93 94 95

Longitude West 83 from Greenwich

21 KANSAS
(MAP, SEE MAP IV)

1861

Lexington

1861

Booneville

1861

Carthage

1861

Wilson's Cr.

1861

Dug Spring

1861

Deacon

1861

Colombia

1861

New Madrid

1862

Floyd

1862

Prairie Grove

1862

Memphis

1862

River

1862

Little Rock

1862

Vicksburg

1862

Port Hudson

1863

Baton Rouge

1863

Mobile

1863

Savannah

1864

Port Royal

1864

Port Gibson

1864

Port Hudson

1864

Port Phillips

1864

Port Apache

1864

Port Eads

1864

Port Phillip

1864

Port Royal

1864

Port Gibson

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tions reunion was extremely difficult, and many predicted that it would be impracticable.

The first obstacle in the way of reunion was removed by the disarming of the Nation. In May, 1865, the National army numbered more than a million men. On the 22d and 23d of that month more than two hundred thousand Union soldiers were reviewed by President Johnson in the Nation's capital. Fresh from their great victories, they appeared as if they were able to do as they liked with their unarmed fellow-citizens. Besides, the thousands who served in the Nation's navy were no less powerful in the position which they had attained. But all these imposing numbers dwindled, all these gigantic armies and fleets were disbanded as easily as if they had been conquered instead of being conquerors. Secretary of War Stanton reported that eight hundred thousand Union soldiers had been mustered out of service in six months; while every kind of material—stores, transports, railroads and their rolling stock, telegraphs—were disposed of, and the Nation's military force was placed on a peace footing. The Nation's navy was reduced in the same degree. Volunteers—both soldiers and sailors—at once were transformed into peaceful citizens.

The
Nation's
Disarm-
ing.

The next obstacle in the way of reunion could not be removed so readily. Almost four million freedmen were to be delivered from their former masters or from those who now threatened to master them and were to be trained in habits of self-control before the Nation of which they formed a part could be considered as properly reunited. As we have observed, just as the great struggle was approaching its close, Congress established a *Freedmen's Bureau* in the War Department, to continue during the war and a year thereafter, March, 1865. This bureau was to have charge of the freedmen, refugees and abandoned lands; and its official head was General Oliver Otis Howard, as already noticed. This commissioner, with an assistant for each of the lately-seceded States and a number of clerks, were entrusted with all matters relating to freedmen. Before the National army was so much reduced that it could spare officers no longer it furnished commissioners to the bureau. Originally, the duties of these commissioners were to care for the sick and the needy and to apportion deserted lands among the freedmen; but few lands were abandoned, so that this part of the work fell through. Relief was administered to the freedmen in every possible form—food, clothing, shelter, protection. When differences arose between freedmen and their employers the commissioners served as arbitrators, and this service was as useful as any which they rendered. An act for the renewal of the Freedmen's Bureau was passed over President Johnson's veto, in February, 1866; and in July of that year the bureau was continued two years longer, its duties being extended so as

The
Freed-
men's
Bureau

to include the education of the freedmen and their children. Benevolent individuals and philanthropic associations had been engaged in this good work for several years, but this work was now extended all over the Southern States. In 1868 the bureau was again continued for two years, and in 1869 it reported twenty-five hundred and seventy-one schools, thirty-two hundred and sixty-two teachers, one hundred and sixteen thousand one hundred and ten scholars. In 1870 the Freedmen's Bureau ceased to exist, after having stood five years between the freedmen and their trials and after having enabled them to cross the gulf between their old state of chattel slavery and their new conditions of freedom and citizenship.

Reconstruction
of the
Lately-
Seceded
States.

The third obstacle to the reunion of the Nation was the position of the States that had seceded from the Union. There was much fruitless discussion over the question as to whether they were States or not, whether they were in the Union or out of it. Practically, they were separated from the States that had remained in the Union, and it was necessary to put an end to this practical separation. As this involved all the authorities in the lately-revolted section, Confederate and State, all the Confederate army and navy, all the classes that had been in armed opposition to the National government, it was by far the most difficult task before the Nation. Unhappily, the severity of this third obstacle was soon increased by divisions which arose between the executive and legislative branches of the National government, President Johnson insisting upon one plan of reconstruction and Congress insisting upon another, until both plans were on the verge of failure; and it was only after the most acrimonious dissensions that Congress finally triumphed over the President and carried its plan of reconstruction to a successful conclusion.

President
Johnson's
Amnesty
Proclama-
tion.

President Johnson had entered upon office with loud threats of avenging the assassination of his lamented predecessor and punishing the treason that had resulted in civil war, saying that "traitors must take a back seat in reconstruction," and telling the colored people that he would be their "Moses" to lead them "out of bondage." But the triumphant Northern people were not actuated by motives of vengeance, and the President's vindictive tone soon softened. Late in May, 1865, he issued a *Proclamation of Amnesty* to "all persons who have directly or indirectly participated in the rebellion," excepting the higher civil, military and naval officers of the Confederate service, along with various other classes, provided that all who availed themselves of the amnesty would take and observe faithfully an oath of allegiance to the United States government, thus swearing fidelity to the National Constitution, the Union and the laws and proclamations of emancipation. The President's Amnesty Proclamation gave even

the certain specified excepted classes an opportunity to apply for pardon.

A loyal State government had continued in Virginia throughout the war; but, after the separation of West Virginia from the rest of the Old Dominion, the authority of this State government extended over only the small part of Virginia in the possession of the National forces. A loyal State government had been established in Tennessee, to supersede that organized by Andrew Johnson as Military Governor. Loyal State governments had been organized in Louisiana and Arkansas, under the amnesty proclamation issued by President Lincoln in 1863. President Johnson recognized these as proper governments for those four States. President Johnson appointed Provisional Governors for the other conquered States, authorizing them to call State conventions for the purpose of establishing loyal State governments. Those States were required to rescind their ordinances of secession; to declare void all debts contracted in support of the Southern Confederacy, and to vote for the adoption of the Thirteenth Amendment of the National Constitution abolishing slavery. The lately-seceded States complied with the President's requirements; the conventions in those States annulling the secession ordinances and prohibiting slavery within their borders, after which the State Legislatures assembled and ratified the Thirteenth Amendment of the National Constitution. This was President Johnson's plan of reconstruction, which left the lately-seceded States very much in the possession of their secession elements, without any other proviso in behalf of the colored race than the acceptance of the abolition of slavery.

The Thirteenth Amendment of the National Constitution, abolishing slavery forever in the United States, adopted by Congress, January 31, 1865, and ratified by three-fourths of the States in the course of a few months, was finally declared adopted, December 18, 1865.

On the assembling of Congress in December, 1865, it became apparent that a disagreement existed between that body and the President respecting the restoration of the lately-seceded States to their former relations with the Union. The President maintained that those States, by accepting the conditions which he had proposed, had manifested a desire to resume their old places in the Union, and that they were therefore at once entitled to representation in both Houses of Congress and to all their old political rights. Congress, with its overwhelming Republican majority in both Houses, contended that those States should not be represented in that body until they had complied with certain conditions imposed upon them in the shape of a Constitutional Amendment providing for suitable protection to the rights of the freedmen and proper precaution against the admission of the lead-

President
Johnson's
Plan of
Recon-
struction.

Abolition
of
Slavery.

Disagree-
ment
between
President
Johnson
and
Congress.

ers of the secession movement to a participation in the National government. The President vetoed various measures in the interest of the emancipated colored race—the Freedmen's Bureau Bill, the Civil Rights Bill and others; but these bills were passed by both Houses of Congress over the President's veto, early in the spring of 1866.

Repub-
lican
Leaders
in
Congress.

Thus we see the President was at variance on the reconstruction question with the Republican party, which had elected him Vice President and which sustained the policy of Congress, which had a Republican majority in each branch of more than two-thirds. The leaders of the Republican majority in the United States Senate were Charles Sumner and Henry Wilson, of Massachusetts; Benjamin Franklin Wade and John Sherman, of Ohio; Zachariah Chandler, of Michigan, and Lyman Trumbull and Richard Yates, of Illinois. Thaddeus Stevens, of Pennsylvania, the "Old Commoner," was the leader of the Republican majority in the House of Representatives. Other prominent Republican members of the Lower House of Congress were General Benjamin Franklin Butler, of Massachusetts; General James Abram Garfield, of Ohio; General John Alexander Logan, of Illinois, William Darragh Kelley, of Pennsylvania; John A. Bingham, of Ohio; George Washington Julian, of Indiana; Roscoe Conkling, of New York; James Gillespie Blaine, of Maine, and the Speaker, Schuyler Colfax, of Indiana.

Democ-
ratic
Leaders
in
Congress.

President Johnston was sustained by most of his Cabinet, with Mr. Seward at its head, and by the Democratic party and its Senators and Representatives in Congress, chief of whom were Charles R. Buckalew, of Pennsylvania; James Asheton Bayard and Willard Saulsbury, of Delaware; Reverdy Johnson, of Maryland; Garrett Davis, of Kentucky, and Thomas Andrews Hendricks, of Indiana, in the United States Senate, and James Brooks, Samuel Sullivan Cox ("Sunset" Cox), Fernando Wood and Benjamin Wood, of New York; Samuel Jackson Randall, of Pennsylvania; George Hunt Pendleton, of Ohio, and Daniel Wolsey Voorhees, of Indiana. The President was also supported by such conservative Republicans as Edgar Cowan, of Pennsylvania; James Rood Doolittle, of Wisconsin, and James Henry Lane, of Kansas, in the United States Senate.

Congres-
sional
Plan of
Recon-
struction.

In the meantime Congress set about its own plan of reconstruction, appointing a joint committee of the two Houses, called the Reconstruction Committee, whose chairman was the great radical Republican leader of the House of Representatives and the chairman of that House's Committee of Ways and Means during the whole period of the Civil War and reconstruction. Mr. Stevens represented the Lancaster district of Pennsylvania, the home of ex-President Buchanan; so that the same place which furnished the President during whose

administration the disruption of the Union began also furnished the statesman who originated the measures for the restoration and regeneration of the Union. After six months' deliberation the Reconstruction Committee reported the Fourteenth Amendment of the National Constitution—the author of which was Mr. Stevens as the committee's chairman—which was adopted by Congress, June 13, 1866, and was the basis of reconstruction. This amendment provides that all persons born or naturalized in the United States are citizens; that the privileges of citizenship shall not be abridged by any State; that if male citizens twenty-one years of age are denied the right to vote they cannot be counted in the number to be represented in Congress; that no person who had violated his oath to support the Constitution of the United States and engaged in rebellion against the National government could hold office until Congress removed such disability; that the validity of the National debt shall not be questioned, but that any debt in aid of rebellion or any claim for any loss by the emancipation of any slave shall be illegal. This plan of reconstruction left the old ruling class in the South very little political power; while giving the freedmen adequate political security, making them full citizens of the United States and requiring the States in which they resided to give them full citizenship, the right to vote, in order for such States to avoid a reduction of their Congressional representation. This was the essential difference between the respective reconstruction plans of the President and of Congress, the Congressional plan seeking suffrage for the freedmen and the Presidential plan avoiding such suffrage aims.

As the Legislature of Tennessee immediately accepted the Fourteenth Amendment, that State was at once readmitted into the Union by a vote of Congress, July 23, 1866, and its Senators and Representatives were admitted to seats in that body. A delay of two years ensued before any other of the lately-seceded States were readmitted, and four years elapsed before all these States were restored to their places in the Union; the quarrel between the President and Congress constantly growing more bitter, the President encouraging the States to accept his plan of reconstruction and to reject that of Congress, thus keeping those States out of the Union.

As we already have seen, during the Civil War in the United States, Napoleon III., the Emperor of the French, endeavored by force of arms to overthrow the Mexican Republic and place the Archduke Maximilian, brother of the Emperor Francis Joseph of Austria, on a throne in Mexico as Emperor. After the close of the Civil War the United States government resolved to enforce the Monroe Doctrine, and early in 1866 Secretary of State Seward informed the French Minister at Washington that the United States demanded the withdrawal of the

Re-admission
of Tennessee.

Delay in
Re-admitting
the Other States.

French
Evacuation
of Mexico.

French expeditionary troops from Mexico—a demand with which Napoleon III. readily agreed to comply, as he had become weary of his costly Mexican enterprise; and, after making some changes in his plan of evacuation, he finally withdrew his troops from Mexico early in 1867, thus leaving his dupe, the Emperor Maximilian, to his fate. The result of this action was the overthrow and execution of the Emperor Maximilian, June 19, 1867, and the triumph of the Mexican Republic. Thus the Monroe Doctrine was vindicated most thoroughly, and the two great republics of North America triumphed over their foreign and domestic foes.

Fenian
Invasion
of
Canada.

The secret Irish organization known as the Fenian Brotherhood, which sought the independence of Ireland, resolved upon making a raid into Canada from the United States, in May, 1866. A body of Fenians invaded Canada from Buffalo, New York, June 1, 1866, but were driven back after some skirmishing with the Canadian troops. During the same month, June, 1866, another body of Fenians entered Canada from St. Albans, Vermont, and were also driven back. President Johnson issued a proclamation against this invasion of a friendly neighbor's territory and sent General Meade to the Canadian frontier, thus putting a stop to this hostile act against a power with which the United States was at peace.

Atlantic
Cable.

In the summer of 1866 telegraphic communication between America and Europe was established by means of the Atlantic Telegraph Cable, which was laid from Valentia, in Ireland, to Heart's Content, in Newfoundland. The accomplishment of this vast undertaking was owing to Cyrus West Field, of New York city. The Queen of Great Britain immediately sent a congratulatory dispatch to the President of the United States and received a reply from him on the same day.

Conven-
tions in
Philadel-
phia

Two important conventions were held in Philadelphia in 1866. The first, which assembled August 14th and remained in session several days, was composed of Republicans and Democrats from the North who sustained President Johnson, and of ex-Confederates from the South. The second was composed of Southern Unionists who opposed President Johnson's policy, and of Republicans from the North who also took a stand against him. This latter convention met early in September and was called the "Southern Loyalists' Convention." The Nation was excited by a bloody riot in New Orleans, early in August, in which a Unionist convention was mobbed and broken up and a number of persons killed.

Elections
of 1866

The elections in the fall of 1866 sustained the reconstruction policy of Congress by a popular majority of six hundred thousand, and by the return of a Republican majority of more than two-thirds in the National House of Representatives.

During the last session of the Thirty-ninth Congress, which ended March 4, 1867, five very important acts were passed over President Johnson's veto. One of these acts repealed the provisions of the act of 1862 giving the President the right to grant amnesty and pardon to ex-Confederates. The Tenure-of-Office Act limited the President's power in official appointments and removals. An act passed in January, 1867, gave the right of suffrage to the freedmen of the District of Columbia. The act for the admission of Nebraska into the Union as a State, passed March 1, 1867, required that the right of suffrage should be conferred on the freedmen within its limits.

Important
Acts of
Congress.

Admis-
sion of
Nebraska.

Military
Recon-
struction
Act.

The most important of these five notable acts passed by Congress over President Johnson's veto was the one finally adopted March 2, 1867, by which the ten lately-seceded States which had not, like Tennessee, adopted the Fourteenth Constitutional Amendment and thus been readmitted into the Union were placed under the military authority of the Republic until their full restoration as States of the Union should be effected and prescribing the conditions on which they should be restored; the conditions being that these States could be readmitted to their former places in the Union when a State convention of delegates in each of them, "elected by male citizens twenty-one years old and upward, of whatever race, color or previous condition," excepting those disqualified by the Fourteenth Constitutional Amendment, should frame a State constitution, which, upon being ratified by the people of the State and approved by Congress, should go into full operation, and the State Legislature thereupon elected should adopt the Fourteenth Constitutional Amendment and that amendment should become a part of the National Constitution. Thus this Military Reconstruction Act conferred the right of suffrage upon the lately-emancipated slaves in the ten States to which it applied, these States being divided into five military districts, each under the charge of a general of the United States army, to be appointed by the President. The President appointed the following generals for the respective military districts: First District, Virginia, General John McAllister Schofield; Second District, North Carolina and South Carolina, General Daniel Edgar Sickles; Third District, Georgia, Florida and Alabama, General John Pope; Fourth District, Mississippi and Arkansas, General Edward Otho Cresap Ord; Fifth District, Louisiana and Texas, General Philip Henry Sheridan.

By a treaty signed on March 30, 1867, Russia sold all her territorial possessions in North America to the United States for seven million two hundred thousand dollars. The purchased territory was named *Alaska*, a name which hitherto had been confined to the peninsula within its south-western limits, the territory while a Russian possession

Purchase
of
Alaska
from
Russia.

being called Russian America. Though nominally colonized for nearly a century, this territory contained less than five hundred Russians and Siberians in a total population of twenty-nine thousand when sold to the United States, the great majority being native Indians. The territory has next to no history. The first Russians came there in 1731; and the territory was first explored in 1741 by Vitus Behring, a Dane in the Russian naval service, who soon died on the island named in honor of him. Voyages led to the establishment of Russian trading-posts and the organization of Russian companies for the prosecution of the fur trade, in which American merchants and seamen likewise participated. Little outside of the fur trade characterized the territory or rendered it a desirable acquisition when it was transferred to the United States, whose representative in the transaction was General Rousseau, October, 1867.

First Removal of Secretary of War Stanton.

In August, 1867, President Johnson removed Edwin McMasters Stanton, Secretary of War, from the Cabinet, and appointed General Grant in his place. The President next removed Generals Sheridan and Sickles from the commands of their respective military districts, against the protests of General Grant. During the regular session of the Fortieth Congress, the President stated his reasons for removing Secretary Stanton, December 12, 1867; but the Senate reinstated Mr. Stanton, January 13, 1868, and General Grant retired from the War Department. A quarrel between President Johnson and General Grant followed.

Second Removal.

Impeachment, Trial and Acquittal of President Johnson.

On February 21, 1868, President Johnson issued an order removing Secretary Stanton from the Cabinet a second time and appointing Adjutant-General Lorenzo Thomas in his stead, and notified the Senate of his action. The Senate passed a resolution denying the President's right to remove Mr. Stanton. Thomas appeared at the War Department and demanded the office, but Mr. Stanton refused to yield it. The country was terribly excited; and the next day—February 22, 1868—the House of Representatives prepared articles of impeachment against President Johnson for a violation of the Tenure-of-Office Act and for other "high crimes and misdemeanors." The motion for impeachment was made by Thaddeus Stevens, of Pennsylvania, the Republican leader of the House. The House appointed the following seven of its members as managers of the impeachment before the bar of the Senate: Thaddeus Stevens and Thomas Williams, of Pennsylvania; General Benjamin Franklin Butler and George Sewall Boutwell, of Massachusetts; John A. Bingham, of Ohio; General John Alexander Logan, of Illinois, and James F. Wilson, of Iowa. The Democratic members of the House formally protested against the whole impeachment proceedings. The Senate was organized as a High

Court of Impeachment for the trial of the President, March 5, 1868. The trial began March 31st. The President's counsel, William Maxwell Evarts, of New York, made an able defense. After a trial of almost seven weeks the Senate acquitted the President of all the charges against him by a vote of thirty-five to nineteen; so that he escaped conviction by one vote, May 26, 1868. All the Democratic Senators and eight Republican Senators voted for the President's acquittal. Among the Republican Senators who thus voted were William Pitt Fessenden, of Maine; William Sprague, of Rhode Island, and Lyman Trumbull, of Illinois.

In the spring of 1868 a Chinese embassy, headed by Anson Burlingame, who had served for the seven previous years as the first United States Minister to China, visited the United States and concluded a treaty with this Republic, after which the embassy visited Europe on similar missions.

Chinese Embassy.

Having complied with the terms of the Military Reconstruction Act, seven of the lately-seceded States were readmitted into the Union in June, 1868—Arkansas on June 22d and North Carolina, South Carolina, Georgia, Florida, Alabama and Louisiana on June 25th; and Senators and Representatives from those States took their seats in Congress. These States when first admitted had State governments administered by Republicans, white and colored, many of the whites being Northern adventurers who settled in the South after the Civil War and who almost ruined those States by their plunder and misrule. The Territory of Wyoming was organized in 1868, and the next year it conferred the right of suffrage on women.

By the readmission of the foregoing seven lately-seceded States the requisite number of three-fourths of all the States was obtained for the ratification of the Fourteenth Amendment of the National Constitution, which was officially declared adopted in July, 1868, thus securing the results of the Civil War, guaranteeing civil rights to all without distinction of race or color, basing apportionment of representation according to the voting population, securing the payment of the National debt and prohibiting the payment of the Confederate debt.

Re-admission of Seven Seceded States.

Results of the Civil War Secured.

In May, 1868, the Republican National Convention at Chicago nominated General Ulysses Simpson Grant, of Illinois, for President of the United States, and Schuyler Colfax, of Indiana, for Vice President. The Democratic National Convention, which met in New York city, July 4, 1868, nominated ex-Governor Horatio Seymour, of New York, for President, and General Francis Preston Blair, of Missouri, for Vice President. On November 3, 1868, General Grant and Mr. Colfax were elected by an overwhelming majority. All the States

Election of Grant.

voted in this election except Virginia, Mississippi and Texas, the three not yet readmitted into the Union.

President Grant, A. D. 1869-1877. On the 4th of March, 1869, General Grant took the oath of office as eighteenth President of the United States. His Cabinet was at first headed by Elihu Benjamin Washburne, of Illinois, as Secretary of State, who was soon succeeded by Hamilton Fish, of New York. President Grant appointed a number of ex-Confederates who had become Republicans to offices. General James Longstreet, of Virginia, was appointed Surveyor of the Port of New Orleans. Colonel John Singleton Mosby, the famous Virginia guerrilla, also obtained recognition from the administration; as did James Lawrence Orr, of South Carolina, and others, Orr being appointed United States Minister to Russia, his death occurring at St. Petersburg while holding that post, May 5, 1873.

Pacific Railroad. In May following, the railroad from Omaha, Nebraska, to Sacramento, California, was completed. This great National highway across the continent to the Pacific Ocean is known as the Union Pacific and the Central Pacific Railroads.

Final Restoration of the Union. The final restoration of the Union was effected in the first three months of 1870 by the readmission of the three remaining seceded States to their former places in the Union—Virginia in January, Mississippi in February and Texas in March; those States having complied with the requirements of the Military Reconstruction Act; and their Senators and Representatives were admitted to seats in Congress. All the restored Southern States went through a sad, cruel experience. After being freed from military rule they were misruled and plundered by Northern adventurers who had gone to the South with sordid and mercenary purposes and aims and who ruled the Southern whites with the aid of ignorant blacks and whose corruption and excesses well-nigh ruined those States. These adventurers were called “Carpet-baggers” and “Scalawags.”

“Carpet-baggers.” All political distinctions on account of race or color in the United States were finally removed by the ratification and adoption of the Fifteenth Amendment of the National Constitution. This Amendment—which declared that the right to vote shall not be denied by the United States or by any State on account of race, color or previous condition of servitude—was adopted by Congress in February, 1869, and, after being ratified by three-fourths of the States, was finally declared adopted in March, 1870, when President Grant announced that fact in a special message to Congress as completing “the greatest civil change that has occurred since the Nation came into life.” Thus was secured the right of suffrage to all races within the borders of the Republic; and several hundred thousand colored men, who ten years

Enfranchisement of the Colored Race.

before were held as chattels, now enjoyed the privileges of American citizens and were placed on a political equality with their late masters. The late chattel slave was not only a freedman, but a full American citizen.

The changes which benefited the colored race were not accepted by many of the Southern whites as benefiting them. In many parts of the South the negroes were harassed by the whites, who often turned upon their own people also. An organization called the *Ku-Klux Klan* spread in various Southern sections and resorted to violence, which induced Congress to pass an act for the enforcement of the provisions of the Fourteenth Constitutional Amendment, authorizing the President to suspend the privilege of the writ of habeas corpus, thus to use the military power where the civil authority failed to suppress lawless combinations, April, 1871. President Grant issued a proclamation calling upon "the people of those portions of the country to suppress all such combinations by their own voluntary efforts through the agency of the local laws." Though reluctant to exercise the power conferred upon him by Congress, the President suspended the privilege of the writ of habeas corpus in certain parts of South Carolina, October, 1871. Some of the members of the Ku-Klux Klan were tried by military courts and convicted and imprisoned. The remedy may have been worse than the disease, but Congress had become accustomed to high-handed rule.

Congress took a more conciliatory step in May, 1872, by passing **Amnesty.** an amnesty act which removed all civil and political disabilities, except from Senators and Representatives of the Thirty-sixth and Thirty-seventh Congresses (1859-1863), officers in the judicial, military and naval services, heads of departments and Ministers to foreign countries who had violated their oath to support the National Constitution. This left a very small number still suffering under political disabilities and completed the work of reconstruction so far as legislation could do so.

The National debt only attained its full dimensions some time after the close of the Civil War; and many doubted the Nation's ability, and more doubted its will, to bear so heavy a burden without lightening it at the expense of its creditors; but as early as December, 1865, the House of Representatives, by an almost unanimous vote, declared it sacred and inviolable. There was great difficulty in wisely administering the National finances, and public and private financiers were unwilling to make the immediate sacrifices demanded by the situation. Taxation could be remedied by reductions and improvements until an easier system was adopted, and the public debt could be reduced by paying off instalments from the surplus revenue; but the paper money,

The Ku-Klux Klan and Its Suppression.

Financial Measures.

which constituted the only currency and which affected all prices and all habits of living throughout the land, could not be redeemed without some temporary losses, which were too great for the government and the Nation. The financial administration of seven years of peace did not improve the Nation's financial condition, but all this time the American people seemed to be enjoying the greatest material prosperity in their history.

**Civil
Service.**

A beginning was made in one administrative reform early in President Grant's administration, when Congress authorized the President to prescribe such rules and regulations for the admission of persons into the civil service as would promote its efficiency, March, 1871. The President appointed a commission, which gave him a scheme of rules which he communicated to Congress in December, 1871. Congress seemed disposed to ignore the matter. As it existed, the civil service was at the disposal of Congress, the appointive officers being usually filled or vacated according to the demands of members of Congress, each Congressman managing his own district or claiming his share in general appointments. The reform of the civil service would put an end to this patronage, so that delay in this reform was inevitable. The commission recommended the competitive examination of applicants for appointive offices, the probationary appointment of those who succeeded at examinations, also the securities for the tenure and promotion of deserving officials—a system which was vitally necessary. Early in 1872 Congress investigated several public scandals, such as the frauds in the custom houses of New York and New Orleans and the scandal involved in the sale of arms to the French during the Franco-German War.

**Scandals.
President
Grant's
Indian
Policy.**

For several years war had been waged with the Arapahoes, the Cheyennes and various other Indian tribes on the plains east of the Rocky Mountains. As Indian wars always were caused by dishonest white men who held the offices of Indian agents, President Grant adopted a more humane policy in dealing with the Indians, thus inaugurating a great reform which was wholly of his own making. Well knowing that all the Indian wars in American history were wholly, exclusively and absolutely the fault of the white man alone, and never in one single instance in the least the fault of the Indian, the President suggested this worthy reform in his first inaugural address and followed up this suggestion by action upon it. A board of commissioners was created to have supervision over Indian affairs; and, instead of the dishonest agents hitherto appointed, army officers and persons named by various religious organizations were intrusted with the care of the Indians—a charge so long abused by bad white men. Some reservations were placed wholly under the immediate control of

the Quakers and other religious bodies which had sent missionaries among the Indians; the Society of Friends, or Quakers, always having been noted for their uprightness in dealing with the Indians and for their peaceful principles. Said President Grant: "I have attempted a new policy towards these wards of the Nation with fair results so far as tried." With this new Indian policy of Grant's administration there came a hope of winning the Indians to civilization and peace—a hope that now had come for the first time.

A party in the negro Republic of Santo Domingo desired the annexation of that republic to the United States, and President Grant favored such annexation; but Charles Sumner, the Chairman of the Committee of Foreign Relations in the United State Senate, opposed the scheme. This disagreement produced a bad feeling between the President and Mr. Sumner; and before the close of the last session of the Fortieth Congress, March 4, 1871, the President's supporters in the Senate caused Mr. Sumner to be removed from the Chairmanship of the Foreign Relations Committee. This produced great indignation in the Republican party throughout the country, and the party press almost unanimously denounced the course of the administration's friends in the Senate and sustained Mr. Sumner.

President
Grant's
Quarrel
with
Senator
Sumner.

On the 1st of June, 1871, the United States fleet under Admiral John Rodgers, while in the waters of Korea, in Eastern Asia, was fired upon from the Korean forts, but repulsed the attack; and on the 10th and 11th of the same month, June, 1871, the Americans defeated the Koreans and captured their forts, after some spirited fighting.

War with
Korea.

A great fire which broke out in Chicago on October 8, 1871, raged two days, spreading desolation over an area of three square miles, destroying more than seventeen thousand buildings and inflicting a loss of almost two hundred million dollars. This was one of the most destructive fires of modern times; but Chicago soon arose out of her ashes, grander and greater than before. On November 9, 1872, a great fire in Boston swept over an area of sixty-five acres in the heart of the business portion of that city, destroying seven hundred and seventy-six buildings and inflicting a loss of seventy-eight million dollars.

Great
Fires in
Chicago
and
Boston.

The conduct of Great Britain in allowing the construction, in her ports, and the escape therefrom, of the *Alabama* and other Anglo-Confederate privateers, had produced a bitter feeling in the United States against the British government; and the claims of the United States for damages on account of the depredations of these vessels led to protracted negotiations between the two governments. A treaty signed by Lord Clarendon, the British Secretary of Foreign Affairs, on the part of Great Britain, and by Reverdy Johnson, the United States Minister

The
Alabama
Claims
and the
Johnson-
Clarendon
Treaty.

to Great Britain, on the part of the United States, on January 15, 1869, was rejected almost unanimously by the United States Senate; and the controversy threatened to end in war between the two nations in the early part of General Grant's administration.

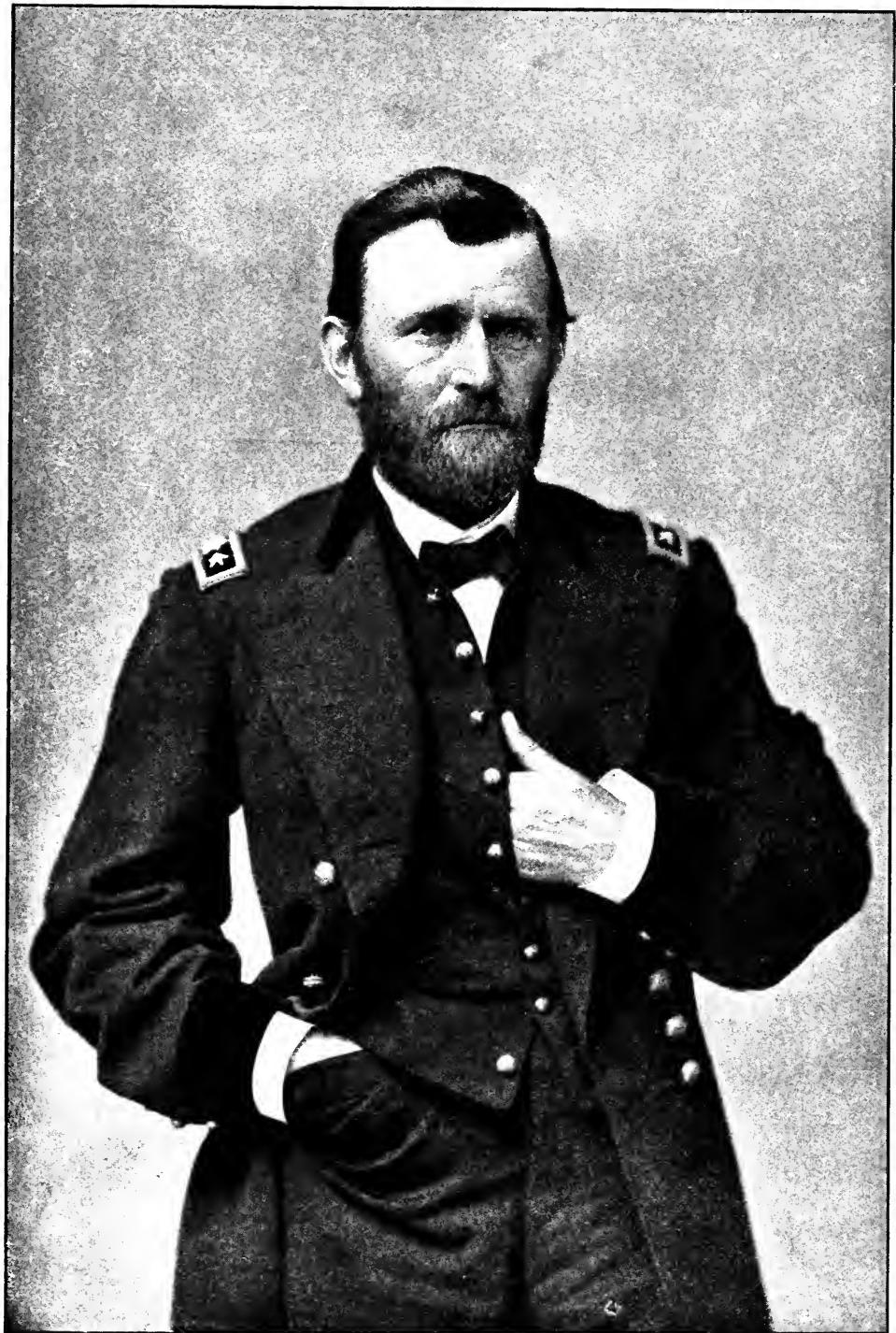
Joint
High
Com-
mission and
Second
Treaty
of Wash-
ington.

Early in 1871 the British Minister at Washington—Sir Edward Thornton—proposed a joint high commission of the two governments for the adjustment of some questions relating to the North American fisheries and other matters concerning the British North American possessions. Secretary of State Hamilton Fish suggested the consideration of the Alabama claims by the same commission—a suggestion which Great Britain accepted. Accordingly, five commissioners appointed by the United States government and five appointed by the British government met in Washington as the *Joint High Commission*, February 27, 1871. The American commissioners were Hamilton Fish, Robert Cumming Schenck, Samuel Nelson, Ebenezer Rockwood Hoar and George Henry Williams. The British commissioners were Earl de Grey and Ripon, Sir Stafford Northcote, Sir Edward Thornton, Sir John Macdonald of Canada and Professor Montague Bernard. On May 8, 1871, the commissioners agreed upon the Treaty of Washington, which was ratified by the United States Senate on May 24th and by the two governments on June 17th. The Treaty of Washington provided for the settlement of the *Alabama* dispute by a *Court of Arbitration*, consisting of five Arbitrators, to be appointed respectively by the President of the United States, the Queen of Great Britain, the Emperor of Brazil, the King of Italy and the President of Switzerland.

Basis of
Arbitra-
tion.

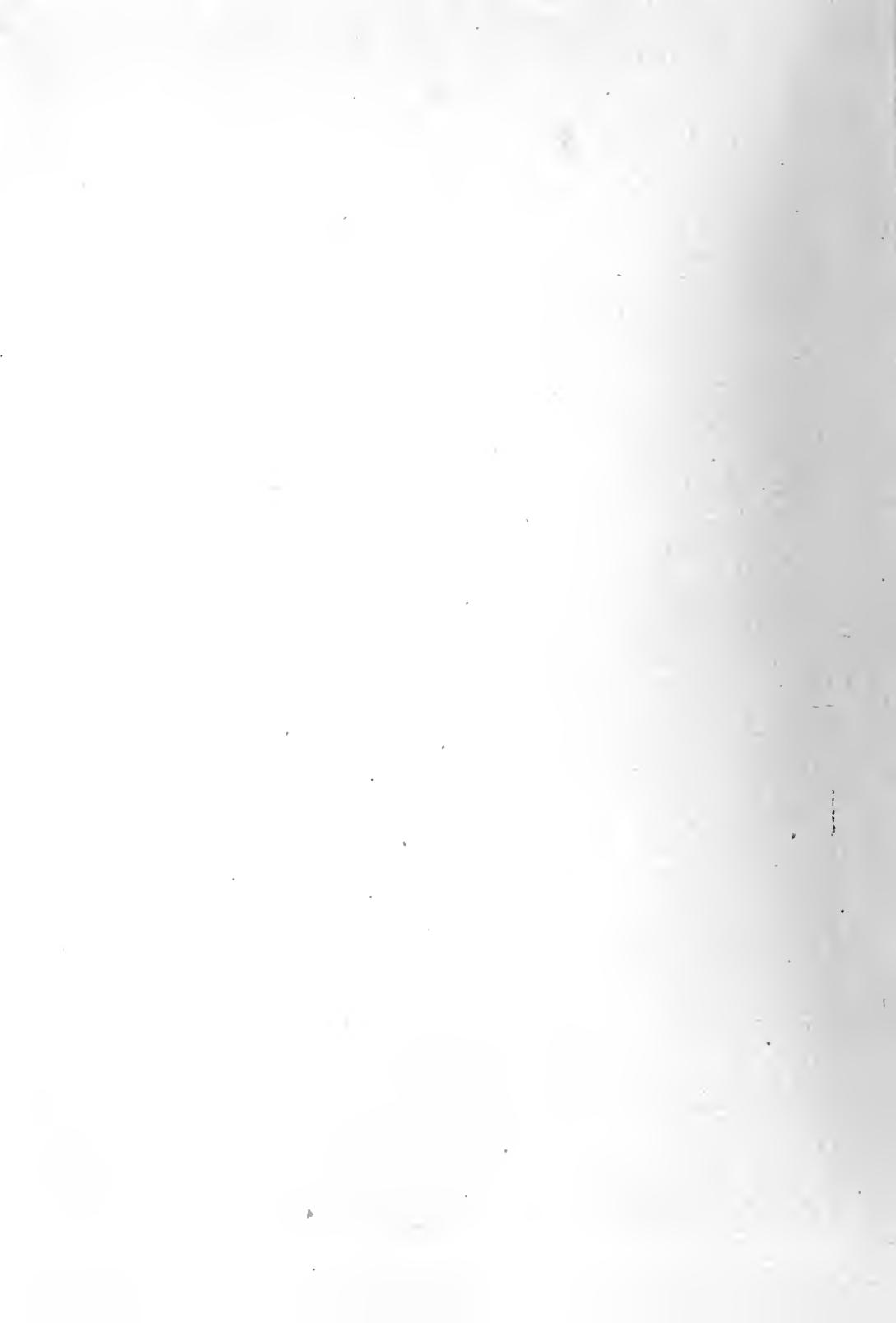
As a basis of arbitration the treaty laid down three rules as binding upon a neutral to prevent: 1. The equipment or departure of any vessel to carry on war against a friendly power. 2. The use of its ports or waters as a base of naval operations or for the renewal of supplies against a friendly power. 3. The violation of the foregoing obligations. Besides, the British commissioners were authorized to express regret for the escape of the *Alabama* and other vessels from British ports and for the depredations perpetrated by those vessels. The treaty referred the other claims between the two governments or their subjects or citizens to a commission of three members, one to be appointed by Great Britain, one by the United States and one by both governments, to meet at Washington. This treaty was a great advance upon all previous negotiations; and, as the negotiators announced, "the method of adjustment is such as will set a noble example to other governments in the interest of the peace of the world."

The five Arbitrators were Charles Francis Adams on the part of the United States, Lord Chief Justice Sir Alexander Cockburn on the part



GENERAL ULYSSES S. GRANT

From a Photograph



of Great Britain, Baron d'Itajuba on the part of Brazil, Count Sclopis on the part of Italy and Jacob Staempfli on the part of Switzerland. Count Sclopis was chosen president of the Court of Arbitration. John Chandler Bancroft Davis was the agent of the United States, and Lord Tenterden was the agent of Great Britain. Caleb Cushing, William Maxwell Evarts and Morrison Remick Waite were the counsel of the United States; and Sir Roundell Palmer, the Lord Chancellor, was the counsel of Great Britain. The Arbitration Tribunal met at Geneva, in Switzerland, in December, 1871; and, after the cases of the two governments had been presented, the Tribunal adjourned, to reassemble in June, 1872.

During this recess of the Arbitration Tribunal the whole arbitration scheme threatened to fall through. A paragraph was found in the American case for the presentation of what were known as indirect claims, or consequential damages, implying Great Britain's liability for all the expenses of the Civil War after the battle of Gettysburg, as it was alleged that after that great event the offensive warfare of the Confederates on the high seas were conducted only through the British-built cruisers and that the war was prolonged for that purpose. The presentation of these preposterous American claims produced the most intense excitement and the most profound indignation in Great Britain, and it was feared that the arbitration would fail signally; but the good sense of the American people did not sustain their government in presenting such absurd claims. After reassembling at Geneva, June 15, 1872, the Arbitration Tribunal settled this question by unequivocally rejecting the consideration of the claims of the United States for indirect damages, June 28th; the American Arbitrator, Charles Francis Adams, alone dissenting from the Tribunal's action on this point.

The *Alabama* Claims Arbitration Tribunal at Geneva finally gave its verdict on September 14, 1872. The Court expressed in mild terms Great Britain's want of due diligence in preventing the escape of the Anglo-Confederate cruisers, and awarded the United States fifteen and one-half million dollars for damages; the British Arbitrator, Sir Alexander Cockburn, alone dissenting from the Tribunal's decision in the case. The two governments readily acquiesced in the decision of the Tribunal. Thus was settled amicably a dispute which had threatened to involve in war two nations kindred in race, language, institutions and religion, presenting to the whole civilized world a most commendable spectacle.

A portion of the Republican party, known as the Liberal Republicans, dissatisfied with General Grant's administration, held a National Convention in Cincinnati, early in May, 1872, and nominated

The Arbitration Tribunal.

Indirect Claims Controversy.

The Tribunal's Verdict and Award to the United States.

Re-election of President Grant.

UNITED STATES OF AMERICA.

Horace Greeley, editor and founder of the *New York Tribune*, for President, and Governor Benjamin Gratz Brown, of Missouri, for Vice President. Early in June the regular Republican National Convention, in Philadelphia, renominated President Grant, with Senator Henry Wilson, of Massachusetts, for Vice President. Early in July the Democrats, in their National Convention in Baltimore, instead of nominating candidates from their own party, adopted the Liberal Republican nominations, on a platform accepting all the results of the Civil War as expressed in the Thirteenth, Fourteenth and Fifteenth Constitutional Amendments. The Straight-out Democrats, who repudiated Greeley and Brown, under the leadership of Colonel Blanton Duncan, afterward met in a National Convention at Louisville and nominated the eminent New York lawyer, Charles O'Conor, for President, and John Quincy Adams, of Massachusetts, son of Charles Francis Adams, for Vice President. A new party, called the Prohibition party, which demanded the suppression of the liquor traffic, in a National Convention, at Columbus, Ohio, February 22, 1872, nominated James Black, of Pennsylvania, for President, and John Russell of Michigan, for Vice President. The Labor Reformers nominated David Davis, of Illinois, an Associate Justice of the United States Supreme Court, for President, and Governor Joel Parker, of New Jersey, for Vice President; but both nominees declined. The Anti-Masons nominated Charles Francis Adams, of Massachusetts, for President, and Frederick Law Olmsted, of the same State, for Vice President. For the first time since 1860 all the States took part in electing a President. On November 5, 1872, President Grant was reelected by a majority far greater than in 1868; and on the 29th of the same month Mr. Greeley died, mourned by the whole American people. For more than a quarter of a century he had been a prominent figure in American politics, and had been regarded as the leading American journalist, the "king of editors," the chief educator of the Republican masses. He had been a radical anti-slavery man; but after the Civil War he advocated universal amnesty and universal suffrage, and became one of the bondsmen of Jefferson Davis. Soon after President Grant's second inauguration, Chief Justice Chase died, May 12, 1873; and early in 1874 Morrison Remick Waite, of Ohio, was appointed his successor.

The last session of the Forty-second Congress was one of unpleasant memory. After passing an act raising the President's salary from twenty-five thousand dollars a year to fifty thousand, that body voted an increase of pay for its members—a proceeding which was universally denounced throughout the country. During the same session a Congressional investigation revealed the fact that many members of both Houses of Congress and high functionaries held stock in the *Credit*

Mobilier of America, a corporation which built the Pacific Railroad. As the value of the stock depended upon the legislation of Congress, the unpleasant disclosures brought to light by the investigation in February, 1873, aroused great popular indignation. Two Representatives were censured by the House, and a Senator narrowly escaped expulsion.

Both parties claimed to have carried the election in Louisiana in November, 1872, and for some time Louisiana had two Governors and two Legislatures. In accordance with an order issued by Judge Durrell, of the United States District Court of Louisiana, United States troops seized the State House in New Orleans on the night of December 6, 1872, and held it for William Pitt Kellogg, the Republican claimant for the Governorship, against John McEnery, the Democratic claimant. An armed attack on the Kellogg officials in New Orleans, March 5, 1873, was quelled by United States troops. One hundred and fifty negroes were killed in a bloody conflict at Colfax, in Grant parish, April 13, 1873. United States troops suppressed an armed insurrection of McEnery's partisans at St. Martinsville, May 7, 1873.

The attempt of the National government to remove the Modoc Indians, of Northern California, to a reservation in Southern Oregon, in November, 1872, was resisted by the Modocs, who numbered only sixty warriors under their famous sachem, Captain Jack, and their other chiefs, Shack-Nasty Jim, Schonchin, Bogus Charlie, Boston Charlie and Scar-faced Charlie. Captain Jack defeated the United States troops in November, 1872, and January, 1873. General Canby and Commissioner Thomas were treacherously assassinated by Captain Jack and Boston Charlie at a peace conference, on Good Friday, April 11, 1873. General Schofield, who then commanded the United States forces in the Pacific department, sent troops after the Modocs, who fled to the Lava Beds, in Southern Oregon, and who frequently repulsed the attacks of the troops in April and May. The surrender of Captain Jack and his bands, June 1, 1873, ended the famous *Modoc War*. Captain Jack and the other Modoc leaders who had murdered General Canby and Commissioner Thomas were hanged October 3, 1873, in accordance with the sentence of a court-martial; and the surviving Modocs, were settled among other Indian tribes.

The following poem on Captain Jack was found in the Modoc's tent after the extermination of the tribe and was supposed to have been written by Shack-Nasty Jim. In many instances half-breeds of intelligence and sometimes of some education became prominent leaders of the various Indian tribes, and Shack-Nasty Jim was such a half-breed leader and was capable of writing a poem of so meritorious a character.

Domestic Troubles in Louisiana.

War with the Modoc Indians in Oregon.

Shack-Nasty Jim's Poem on Captain Jack.

UNITED STATES OF AMERICA.

"I am a Modoc sachem, and you call me Captain Jack,
And well you know my war-whoop and my trusty rifle's crack;
I've scalped you on the hearthstone, waylaid you in the glen,
And from my mountain fortress I have chased a thousand men!"

"Already have your bravest braves beneath my aim gone down,
Some with a soldier's laurel, one with a martyr's crown!
But your blue-coats and your braggarts I jeer at in my scorn,
Fit but to drain the canteen, or at best to blow the horn."

"Come, with your bands of music! come, with the bursting bomb!
Come, on your prancing war-steeds! with your wide-mouthed cannon, come!
Ye can find me where the lavas of the molten mountains roll,
With their craters for my wigwam and their fires in my soul!"

"Oh, pale and blue-eyed Saxon! why halt ye at my door?
Fear ye a Modoc's greeting! ye, who ne'er felt fear before?
And you, ye valiant *Bostons*, that have won full many a fray
'Gainst the red men of the valley, why stand ye now at bay?"

"The Modoc chieftain's scalp-lock at your sword-belt would ye wear?
Come and take it, skulking cowards! come and take it—*if ye dare!*
Say you, ye cannot find me? My name is Captain Jack,
An eagle's plume adorns my brow, a grizzly's skin my back!"

"I count but threescore warriors to battle by my side,
But greater far the glory 'twill be ours to divide;
You boast a thousand veterans, pale-faced in soul and name,
To aid you in your quarrel, and at last to share your shame!"

"Think not 'tis yours to conquer, think not 'tis ours to fall,
In my dreams I see our Father, the Great Spirit of us all;
He cheers us when we vanquish, He chides us when we fail,
And leads us on to vengeance, as the lightning leads the gale!"

"'Tis yours to build the city, 'tis yours to sail the sea,
But ours to range the mountains and to rove the valleys—free!
'Tis yours to heap up riches, by force, by fraud, by toil,
But ours to scour the hunting-grounds, true lordlings of the soil!"

"How dare you charge with treachery the Modoc and his band!
You who corrupt his daughters! you who would steal his land!
You found him frank and truthful, kind, hospitable, brave,
But lured him to *your ambush* of gin, gambling and the grave!"

"Your hands are red with slaughter, your souls are scorched by crime,
Bold robbers of the red man! down all the stream of time,
Your gods are gold and silver, your gospel but a snare;
You cheat, you lie, you poison, you betray us e'en in prayer!"

"Your sachems serve for rations, your soldiers fight for pay,
The vultures of the battlefield that fatten on decay!
Rise! Modocs, in your fury, shoot the hireling harpies down,
And strike for hate and vengeance, for justice and renown!"

"Revenge for every Modoc who now fills a bloody grave,
Too strong to wear your fetters, too proud to be your slave!
Revenge for every maiden you have wheedled from her kin!
Revenge for land and lineage! Revenge for blood and sin!"

President Grant signed a bill passed by Congress in February, 1873, for demonetizing the silver dollar; and in the fall of 1873 a terrible financial crisis swept over the country, commencing with the failure of the banking house of Jay Cooke and Company, of Philadelphia. Many leading banking houses of New York and other large cities failed; and the consequences were felt to the remotest borders of the Union, affecting every business and manufacturing interest in the land and causing much distress among the laboring population and the poor in the large cities. For the next six years the country suffered from a general industrial and business depression. President Grant vetoed a bill passed by Congress in April, 1874, to inflate the country with more paper money; but he signed a bill providing for a more equal distribution of the paper currency among the different sections of the Union, passed in June, 1874. In January, 1875, the President signed a bill passed by Congress providing for a resumption of specie payments on January 1, 1879. In the spring of 1876 he also signed a bill passed by Congress providing for the restoration of fractional silver coin in place of the fractional paper currency.

Panic of
1873.

Financial
Legisla-
tion.

On October 31, 1873, the steamer *Virginianus*, flying the American flag, manned by Americans and Cubans and commanded by Captain Fry, was seized by the Spanish war vessel *Tornado*, off the coast of Jamiaca, on the ground that she was a filibustering vessel and was carrying war material to the Cuban insurgents. In the course of a few days fifty-three of the crew and passengers were shot by order of the Spanish military authorities at Santiago de Cuba. Further executions were prevented only by the interference of the British consul, Ramsden, who said to the Spanish captain: "If there is another man shot I will call in Her Majesty's warships and blow Santiago de Cuba off the face of the earth." These wholesale executions produced intense indignation and a warlike feeling in the United States against Spain. Immense public meetings were held in New York and other large cities, and large offers of volunteers were made to the National government. In New Orleans, General Longstreet, Surveyor of the Port, offered twenty-five thousand men to President Grant. The Castelar government in Spain finally acceded to the demand of the United States for reparation, and a protocol was signed at Washington by Secretary of State Hamilton Fish and the Spanish Minister to the United States, November 29, 1873, by which Spain was required to restore the *Virginianus* and the survivors of her passengers and crew and to pay an indemnity to the families of the victims. The *Virginianus* was delivered to the United States navy at Bahia Honda, in Cuba, December 16, 1873; and the crew and passengers were released at Santiago de Cuba two days later. As the *Virginianus* commenced leaking

Virginianus
Difficulty
with
Spain.

badly soon after her departure from Bahia Honda, she was abandoned by her crew; and the vessel sunk to the depths of the ocean off Cape Fear, North Carolina, December 26, 1873. Two days later her crew and passengers arrived at New York city in the United States sloop-of-war *Juniata*.

Women's Temperance Crusade and Temperance Reform.

Early in 1874 a very remarkable movement against the liquor traffic was instituted by the women in many towns of Ohio, these women going from saloon to saloon and by prayer and hymn-singing and by direct personal persuasion inducing many proprietors of such establishments to close up their places of business, in which efforts they were very largely successful, as many liquor and saloon men quit the business and their establishments were closed. This moral and religious movement—called the *Women's Temperance Crusade*—spread into many other Northern and Western States and had many beneficial results, the chief of which was the inauguration of another great temperance reform movement like that started by Gough and Hawkins a third of a century before. Out of this great temperance movement sprang the *Women's Christian Temperance Union*, whose National President was Miss Frances Elizabeth Willard, of Chicago, and whose organization eventually became international. Another outgrowth of this women's crusade was the great temperance reform movement whose recognized leader was the genial Irishman, Francis Murphy, a reformed liquor seller of Portland, Maine, who, after quitting his business, became a renowned temperance orator, like Gough and Hawkins in the early forties, inducing thousands of drunkards to sign the pledge.

Civil War in Arkansas.

Like Louisiana, Arkansas had two claimants for the office of Governor—Elisha Baxter, Grant Republican, and Joseph Brooks, Liberal Republican—both of whom claimed to have been elected in November, 1872. The votes of several counties were thrown out on account of alleged frauds, thus leaving Baxter a majority in the State, and he was accordingly inaugurated. On April 15, 1874, the Circuit Court of Pulaski county decided in favor of Brooks' claims, whereupon his adherents seized the State House in Little Rock. A short civil war followed. Brooks and Baxter each collected a small army at Little Rock, and the greatest excitement prevailed in the city. Baxter appealed to President Grant for aid; but the President declined to interfere, except to preserve the peace, and United States troops were sent to Little Rock to prevent bloodshed. A number of conflicts in and near Little Rock, in which a number were killed and wounded, were ended by United States troops, April and May, 1874. The State Legislature met at Baxter's call and decided in favor of his claims, whereupon President Grant issued a proclamation recognizing Baxter and ordering Brooks to submit. Brooks's party surrendered the State House,

Miss Frances Elizabeth Willard.

Francis Murphy.

May 19, 1874, whereupon the opposing forces dispersed and quiet was restored.

The action of the Kellogg police in New Orleans in seizing arms belonging to private individuals caused a violent insurrection in the city against Governor Kellogg, September 14, 1874; and ten thousand militia under Lieutenant-Governor D. B. Penn, of Governor McEnery's party, held possession of the city, and routed the Kellogg police, cavalry and artillery, under the command of General Longstreet, capturing all their cannon, after a severe fight in which eighty men were killed and wounded on both sides. Governor Kellogg, General Longstreet and others fled for refuge to the custom house, where they were sheltered by United States troops. The next day—September 15, 1874—the State House, all the State and city property, police stations, arsenals, the police and fire-alarm telegraphs, and the Kellogg police and militia were surrendered to Lieutenant-Governor Penn, who thus held control of the city; and the Kellogg State government was practically overthrown. In response to Governor Kellogg's application, President Grant issued a proclamation ordering the McEnery insurgents to disperse and return to their homes; and the McEnery government submitted to the President's orders, September 17, 1874, surrendering the State Capitol and other buildings in New Orleans to the United States military authorities, thus leaving the Kellogg administration once more in full and complete possession of the State government of Louisiana.

Insurrec-tion in
Louis-iана.

The elections in the fall of 1874 showed an overwhelming reaction against President Grant's administration; the Democratic party carrying most of the States of the Union, even the hitherto-certain Republican State of Massachusetts, and securing an overwhelming majority in the House of Representatives of the Forty-fourth Congress—the first Democratic House of Representatives in sixteen years. The election of Democratic Legislatures in many of the States gave the same party a large gain of United States Senators.

Elections
of 1874.

When the newly-elected Legislature of Louisiana assembled, January 4, 1875, a quarrel ensued about the organization. The McEnery party attempted to seize control of the House of Representatives and elected a Speaker; but the Kellogg party appealed to the military authorities in New Orleans, whereupon General De Tobriand entered the State House with United States troops and drove out five of the McEnery members whose titles to seats were disputed by the Kellogg party. The action of the military authorities was severely denounced even by supporters of the administration; and indignation meetings were held in New York, Boston and other Northern cities. The question was taken up by Congress, and a compromise was effected by a

Military
Interfer-
ence
with the
Lou-iана
Legisla-
ture.

committee of the House of Representatives with William Almon Wheeler, of New York, as chairman.

Public Scandals.

During President Grant's second term there were many public scandals which cast unpleasant reflections upon the administration, involving many whom the President had trusted. The most prominent of these were the Sanborn and Jayne contracts, which were investigated by Congress, and the Safe Burglary case, in which some of the officials were involved, being tried in Washington for stealing papers out of a government safe. The greatest of all the scandals were the Whiskey Ring frauds, which were unearthed by Secretary of the Treasury Benjamin Helm Bristow's investigations and which caused the loss of millions of dollars in revenue to the National government. Early in 1876 Secretary of War William Worth Belknap was discovered to have sold Indian post-traderships and was forced to resign, after which he was impeached by the House of Representatives, but he was acquitted afterward by the Senate.

Whiskey Ring Investigation.

The Nation was now completing the first century of its existence, and the centennials of Revolutionary events were observed with appropriate ceremonies. The one hundredth anniversary of the destruction of tea in Boston harbor was appropriately celebrated at Boston and other places, December 16, 1873; as was also the centennial anniversary of the meeting of the First Continental Congress, at Philadelphia, September 5, 1874. Magnificent celebrations of the one hundredth anniversary of the skirmishes at Lexington and Concord, Massachusetts, were held April 19, 1875, a hundred thousand people having assembled on the occasion to witness the ceremonies and hear the addresses. The centennial of the capture of Ticonderoga by Ethan Allen was also duly celebrated by the inhabitants at that village, May 10, 1875; as was also the centennial of the Mecklenburg Declaration by the people of Charlotte, North Carolina, May 20, 1875. The centennial of the battle of Bunker Hill, at Boston and Charlestown, Massachusetts, June 17, 1875, was the grandest celebration of that year; people from different parts of the Union participating, and a procession twelve miles in length marching to the spot consecrated to freedom.

Centennial International Exhibition.

For six years preparations had been made for the celebration of the one hundredth year of American Independence by a great *Centennial International Exhibition*, or World's Fair, in Fairmount Park, Philadelphia—a grand display by all nations of their "arts, manufactures and products of the soil and the mine." A number of immense Exposition buildings were erected in Fairmount Park for the occasion. The Centennial International Exhibition was opened with imposing ceremonies, Wednesday, May 10, 1876, in the presence of almost two

hundred thousand spectators, among whom were President Grant and his Cabinet, Senators and Representatives in Congress, Judges of the United States Supreme Court, Governors of States, army officers, the Emperor Dom Pedro II. of Brazil and the members of the foreign legations at Washington. President Grant declared the Exhibition open; and he and the Emperor of Brazil started the great Corliss engine, thus setting in motion fourteen acres of machinery, comprising eight thousand different machines. The different nations of the world made exhibits of their various products. The Exposition lasted six months, May 10—November 10, 1876; and during that time there were eight million paying visitors on the Exhibition grounds. Over one hundred and fifty thousand persons were present at the closing day, Friday, November 10, 1876, when President Grant assisted in the closing ceremonies.

The 4th of July, 1876—the one hundredth anniversary of American Independence—was observed throughout the United States with fitting and impressive ceremonies. The most magnificent celebration was in Philadelphia, the birthplace of the Nation, where several hundred thousand visitors spent the day in the city so classic in Revolutionary history. During the preceding night a magnificent procession nearly seven miles in length paraded on Broad and Chestnut streets. In this procession were Governors of States; army and navy officers; the Emperor Dom Pedro II. of Brazil; Prince Oscar of Sweden; the Count de Rochambeau, grandson of the Count de Rochambeau who aided Washington in the siege of Yorktown; Sir Edward Thornton, the British Minister at Washington; the foreign commissioners at the Centennial International Exhibition, and the clubs and trades of the city. On the approach of the procession to Independence Hall, at midnight, the new Liberty Bell in the spire of that old historic building opened the clangling chorus, which was taken up by steeple after steeple in the city. Amid the brazen din came the shrieks of steam whistles, reports of artillery and small arms, along with the racket of fire crackers let off by impatient Young America. On the morning of the 4th there was a grand military parade on Broad and Chestnut streets, in which the *Centennial Legion*, composed of select companies from the Old Thirteen States, made an imposing appearance. Among the distinguished guests present at the ceremonies on Independence Square were the Emperor Dom Pedro II. of Brazil; Sir Edward Thornton, the British Minister at Washington; Generals Sherman, Sheridan, Hooker and McDowell, and a number of Governors of States. The Declaration of Independence was read from the original document by Richard Henry Lee, of Virginia, grandson of the Richard Henry Lee who offered the resolution of Independence in the Continental Congress in

Centen-
nial
Independ-
ence Day.

1776. Bayard Taylor recited an inspiring poem composed by himself; and the Hon. William Maxwell Evarts, of New York, a grandson of Roger Sherman, delivered a grand oration. The ceremonies on Independence Square closed amid the wildest enthusiasm. In the evening there was a brilliant pyrotechnic display in East Park, at which fifty thousand persons were present.

Dom Pedro's Visit. In April, 1876, Dom Pedro II., Emperor of Brazil, arrived in New York, on a visit to the United States. During a period of three months he visited many portions of the country, crossing the continent to California and endeavoring to learn something of the industries and resources of the Nation. He was present at the opening ceremonies of the Centennial International Exposition at Philadelphia on May 10th, and at the ceremonies on Independence Square on July 4th. In July he sailed for Europe.

Admission of Colorado. On March 4, 1875, Congress passed an act for the admission of Colorado into the Union as the thirty-eighth State. Colorado having at length complied with the enabling act of Congress and formed a State Constitution, President Grant issued a proclamation, July 4, 1876, declaring Colorado a State of the American Union. Thus Colorado became the "Centennial State."

War with the Sioux Indians in Montana. For several years there were repeated troubles with the Sioux Indians under their famous chiefs—Sitting Bull, Crazy Horse, Red Fox, Red Dog, Rocky Bear, Living Bear, Bearskin, Bear-Stand-Up and Black Moon. In 1872 Sitting Bull was repulsed in two attacks upon the United States troops under General George Armstrong Custer, the dashing young cavalry officer in the Civil War. In 1873 Sitting Bull was repulsed in a night attack upon Colonel Baker. In 1874 he drove the Crow Indians from their reservation and made war on all peaceable Indians. The continual intrusion of the whites, especially after the discovery of gold in the Black Hills, in Montana Territory, had excited the cupidity of gold seekers, led to serious troubles with the Sioux, the Cheyennes and other Indian tribes. In the summer of 1875 a number of chiefs visited Washington and offered to sell their lands for one hundred and fifty thousand dollars, but as the government refused to pay more than twenty-five thousand they returned to their various tribes dissatisfied. The Sioux determined to defend their lands by force of arms. In the summer of 1876 an expedition under General Alfred Howe Terry, assisted by Generals Custer, Crook, Gibbon, Merritt and others took the field against the Sioux. Crook defeated the Sioux on the Rosebud river, June 17, 1876. On June 25, 1876, General Custer and his entire command of three hundred and seven men fell into an ambush on the Little Big Horn river, and all were massacred by four thousand Sioux under Sitting Bull. On the

same and the next day Major Reno attacked the Indians, who retired after the arrival of General Terry. The war continued several months longer; but after General George Crook had completely defeated the Sioux and captured a Sioux camp, September 9, 1876, the Sioux agreed to a treaty of peace relinquishing a portion of the Black Hills, September 22, 1876. Hostilities were renewed afterward, and Sitting Bull and his band were defeated, whereupon they fled into the British dominion, where they remained for several years, during which they were notified by the Canadian authorities that if they recrossed into the United States with hostile intent they would have the British as well as the Americans to fight.

On June 16, 1876, the Republican National Convention at Cincinnati nominated Governor Rutherford Birchard Hayes, of Ohio, for President of the United States, and William Almon Wheeler, of New York, for Vice President. On June 28th the Democratic National Convention at St. Louis nominated Governor Samuel Jones Tilden, of New York, for President, and Governor Thomas Andrews Hendricks, of Indiana, for Vice President. The National Greenback party, which demanded an additional issue of paper money by the National government, nominated Peter Cooper, of New York, for President, and Samuel Fenton Cary, of Ohio, for Vice President. The Prohibition party, in a National Convention at Cleveland, Ohio, May 17, 1876, nominated General Green Clay Smith, of Kentucky, for President, and Gideon Tabor Stewart, of Ohio, for Vice President. The American National, or Anti-Secret Society party nominated James B. Walker, of Illinois, for President, and D. Kirkpatrick, of New York, for Vice President. The election, November 7, 1876, was claimed by both parties. Three Southern States—Louisiana, Florida and South Carolina—were in dispute; and prominent leaders of both parties went from the North to Louisiana to watch the counting of the vote of that State by the State Returning Board. The Returning Boards of the three disputed States declared their States to have gone for the Republican National and State tickets, but the claim was disputed by the Democrats. In Florida a recount of the votes resulted in favor of the Republican Presidential ticket and the Democratic State ticket. In Louisiana and South Carolina two State governments were organized. In Oregon, where the Republican Electors were chosen, a difficulty arose concerning the eligibility of one of the Electors, and the Governor gave a certificate of election to one of the Democratic Electoral candidates, thus further embarrassing the situation.

When Congress assembled, in December, 1876, committees were appointed in both Houses to proceed to the three disputed States to investigate the affairs of the election. In January, 1877, a joint com-

Disputed
Presi-
dential
Election
of 1876.

Electoral
Commis-
sion.

mittee of the two Houses of Congress agreed upon a bill for counting the Electoral vote. This bill provided for the decision of the cases of the disputed States by an *Electoral Commission*, composed of five Senators, five Representatives and five Supreme Court Judges. This bill was speedily passed by overwhelming majorities of both Houses of Congress, and received the President's signature January 30, 1877. The members of the Electoral Commission were chosen immediately and entered upon their duties February 1, 1877, when both Houses met in joint convention to count the Electoral vote. The case was argued ably before the Commission by William Maxwell Evarts, of New York, counsel for Hayes and Wheeler, and by Jeremiah Sullivan Black, of Pennsylvania, counsel for Tilden and Hendricks. The Commission, which was composed of eight Republicans and seven Democrats, decided, by a strict party vote, not to take evidence concerning the popular vote in the disputed States. The Commission also decided, by a strict party vote, to give the Electoral votes of all the disputed States to Hayes and Wheeler. The decisions of the Electoral Commission caused intense dissatisfaction among the Democrats, and a large number of Democratic Representatives resorted to filibustering to prevent the completion of the count of the Electoral vote by the joint convention of the two Houses of Congress; but the count was completed successfully at four o'clock on the morning of March 2, 1877, and Hayes and Wheeler were declared elected by a majority of one Electoral vote, or by 185 to 184. The elections of 1876 again gave the Democrats a majority in the National House of Representatives.

President
Hayes,
A. D.
1877-
1881.

Governor Hayes was sworn into office as President by Chief Justice Waite on March 3, 1877, the 4th coming on Sunday. The other inauguration ceremonies were performed on the 5th, when Mr. Wheeler took the oath of office as Vice President. President Hayes selected an able Cabinet, with William Maxwell Evarts, of New York, his chief counsel before the Electoral Commission, as Secretary of State; Senator John Sherman, of Ohio, as Secretary of the Treasury, and David McKendree Key, of Tennessee, a Democrat and ex-Confederate, as Postmaster-General. President Hayes endeavored to improve the civil service, which was one of the reforms he sought to promote.

Democratic
State
Governments in
Louisiana and
South Carolina.

The question which first engaged the attention of the new administration was the settlement of the domestic troubles in Louisiana and South Carolina, in each of which two State governments had been organized. The question was settled within less than two months by President Hayes' action in withdrawing the United States troops from the capitals of those two States, whereupon the Republican State governments ceased to exist, and the authority of the Democratic Gov-

ernors was undisputed. Thus Francis T. Nichols became Governor of Louisiana, instead of Stephen B. Packard, and General Wade Hampton became Governor of South Carolina, instead of Daniel H. Chamberlain, who already had served one term.

About the middle of July, 1877, many of the employees of the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad resisted a reduction of wages; and at Martinsburg, West Virginia, the affair assumed such serious dimensions that the State authorities were unable to deal with it, and Governor Matthews, of West Virginia, was obliged to call upon the National government for aid in suppressing domestic violence, whereupon President Hayes issued a proclamation calling upon the rioters to disperse and sent United States troops to restore quiet. The employees on all the Grand Trunk lines in the Northern States resisted the reduction of wages and allowed no freight train to move for several weeks; and large portions of the laboring classes, sympathizing with the railroad strikers, inaugurated great riots in many of the leading cities of the Northern States. On July 20th and 21st there was a serious riot in Baltimore, and the 6th Maryland regiment and a small body of United States troops were stoned by a furious mob; but President Hayes sent United States troops at the call of Governor Carroll, of Maryland, and the disturbance was quelled after a number of lives had been lost. On July 21st and 22d the most serious of all the rioting occurred at Pittsburgh, where an infuriated mob attacked the Philadelphia militia who had been sent to preserve order, and were fired upon, many being killed and wounded on each side. The Philadelphia troops retreated to the round house, which was besieged and set on fire by the mob, who finally dislodged the troops and drove them from the city. The Pittsburgh mob destroyed about one hundred and twenty-five locomotives and burned almost a thousand cars, and the Pennsylvania Railroad Company sustained a total loss of seven million dollars. The Governors of Pennsylvania and Ohio called upon the President for military aid. Bloody riots also occurred at Reading, Buffalo, Columbus, Chicago, St. Louis, San Francisco and other cities.

About the middle of June, 1877, the Nez Perces, a powerful Indian tribe in Idaho Territory, led by their chief, Joseph, and exasperated at the violation of a treaty by the whites, commenced a fierce war against the white settlers on the Salmon river by a bloody massacre of men, women and children at Mount Idaho. The Indians attacked and defeated the United States troops sent against them with a loss of twenty-seven killed. General Oliver Otis Howard fought the Nez Perces four days on the Cottonwood, July 2-5, 1877, but they finally escaped. General Howard defeated Chief Joseph at the mouth of the Cottonwood, July 13, 1877, the Indians being shelled from their posi-

Great
Railroad
Riots.

War
with the
Nez
Perces
Indians
in Idaho.

tion and put to flight. General John Oliver Gibbon fought the Nez Perces at the Big Hole River, August 9, 1877; but the Indians finally escaped, after losing one hundred killed and wounded, while seven of Gibbon's troops were killed and wounded. General Howard pursued and overtook Chief Joseph, but in an indecisive engagement the Indians seized General Howard's horses and made a rapid flight. General Sturgis defeated the Nez Perces in a running fight of over one hundred miles, September 13 and 14, 1877. General Nelson Appleton Miles defeated them on September 30, 1877. A few days later Joseph surrendered, and the war ended, October, 1877.

**More
Revolutionary
Centen-
nial
Anniver-
saries.**

During the years 1877 and 1878 the centennial anniversaries of various Revolutionary events were celebrated with appropriate ceremonies at the places where those events occurred. Thus the centennial of the battle of Bennington was celebrated, August 16, 1877; President Hayes being present. The centennial of the battle of Brandywine was celebrated September 11, 1877, and the centennial of the Massacre of Paoli, September 20, 1877. The centennial of the battle of Monmouth was celebrated June 28, 1878. There was a centennial celebration at Valley Forge, June, 1878. The centennial of the Massacre of Wyoming was celebrated with imposing ceremonies at Wyoming and Wilkes-Barre, Pennsylvania, July 3 and 4, 1878; President Hayes and part of his Cabinet being present. The centennial of the Massacre of Cherry Valley, New York, was also celebrated in the year 1878.

**War
with the
Bannack
Indians in
Oregon.**

At the beginning of June, 1878, the Bannacks and Shoshones, two Indian tribes of Northern Oregon, began a murderous war against the whites; but after a bloody war of three months these savage tribes were subdued by United States troops under Generals Howard and Miles, at the beginning of September, 1878. In September, 1878, the Cheyennes left their agency in Indian Territory and committed frightful massacres in Eastern Colorado, but were severely defeated by United States troops, after which they fled into Nebraska. They were imprisoned at Fort Robinson, Nebraska, whence they escaped in January, 1879; but they were soon surrounded, and, refusing to surrender, were all but exterminated.

**Yellow
Fever in
Memphis.**

In the fall of 1878 Memphis, Tennessee, was stricken with yellow fever, which carried off thousands of its inhabitants. The people from all sections of the country responded nobly to the cry for help from the stricken city, and the horrors of the pestilence finally were ended upon the approach of cooler weather.

**Elections
of 1878.**

In the elections of 1878 the National Greenback-Labor party polled over a million votes and elected several dozen Congressmen. Those elections again gave the Democrats a majority in the National House

of Representatives; and from March 4, 1879, to March 4, 1881, the United States Senate had a Democratic majority also.

The people of the United States were still suffering from the business prostration caused by the disastrous effects of the panic of 1873. In February, 1878, a bill remonetizing the silver dollar was passed by both Houses of Congress over President Hayes's veto. On January 1, 1879, specie payments were resumed, in accordance with the provisions of the Specie Resumption Act, passed by Congress in January, 1875. A general improvement in business affairs became apparent; and for the next few years the general industrial and business prostration which had weighed down upon the Nation for almost six years had disappeared in a large measure, and the American people enjoyed a short season of prosperity.

Resumption of Specie Payments.

War with the Ute Indians in Colorado.

In September, 1879, N. C. Meeker, the Indian agent at White River, on the western frontier of Colorado, appealed to the National government for protection against the Ute Indians, under Chief Ouray, who resisted his agricultural operations. Major Thornburgh, with three companies of United States cavalry, while marching to the station, fell into an ambuscade near Milk River, in Colorado, and the commander and eleven soldiers were killed and twenty wounded by a band of Utes, September 29, 1879. The Indians burned a wagon train and killed about three-fourths of the horses belonging to the troops. The troops fell back and intrenched. There was great excitement in Colorado over this disaster. Captain Payne, with colored troops, reinforced the defeated troops and engaged the Utes at the scene of Thornburgh's disaster, October 1, 1879. Agent Meeker and all the white men at the White River agency were massacred by the Utes, and the women and children were carried into captivity. After a forced march, Colonel Merritt rescued the whole command, who had been besieged for six days at Milk River, and the Utes were repulsed October 5, 1879. The Indians surrendered Mrs. Meeker and her daughter and the other women to General Adams. After months of negotiation, the Utes engaged in the massacre of Agent Meeker and others at the White River agency were surrendered; and by a treaty of peace between the United States government and Chief Ouray the Utes sold their lands, September, 1880.

During the years 1879 and 1880 the Apache Indians, led by their chief, Victorio, committed numerous depredations and massacres in New Mexico Territory and in the Mexican State of Chihuahua. The military forces of the United States and Mexico made great efforts to capture Victorio and his band, but the wily chief always eluded pursuit after his encounters with United States and Mexican troops. Victorio was finally killed and his entire band killed or captured on Mexi-

can territory by a body of Mexican troops, about the middle of October, 1880.

Ex-
President
Grant's
Tour
of the
World.

For two years and a half, 1877-1879, ex-President Grant made a tour around the world, being received everywhere with most distinguished honors. He first went to Great Britain, where he was entertained magnificently, being granted the freedom of the city of London in May, 1877. He next visited France, Germany, Italy, Russia and other countries of Europe; after which he traveled through Egypt, Turkey, Persia, India, China and Japan, and returned home by way of San Francisco. A most magnificent reception was given him in Philadelphia, December 15, 1879, accompanied by a pageant which was viewed by hundreds of thousands of spectators.

Election
of
Garfield.

The Republican National Convention which assembled at Chicago, June 2, 1880, was one of the most memorable party conventions in the history of American politics. A faction of the Republican party, called *Stalwarts*, headed by United States Senators Roscoe Conkling of New York, James Donald Cameron of Pennsylvania and John Alexander Logan of Illinois, attempted to force the nomination of General Grant for a third term; but, after a session of a week and thirty-six ballottings, they were defeated in their efforts by the supporters of Senator James Gillespie Blaine, of Maine, the chief rival candidate, and Senator-elect James Abram Garfield, of Ohio, was nominated for President, with Chester Allan Arthur, of New York, for Vice President, June 7, 1880. The Democratic National Convention at Cincinnati, June 24, 1880, nominated General Winfield Scott Hancock, of Pennsylvania, for President, and William H. English, of Indiana, for Vice President. The Greenback-Labor National Convention, in Chicago, June 10, 1880, nominated General James B. Weaver, of Iowa, the Greenback leader in Congress, for President, and Benjamin J. Chambers, of Texas, for Vice President. The National Prohibition Convention, in Cleveland, Ohio, June 17, 1880, nominated Neal Dow, of Maine, the author of the celebrated Maine anti-liquor law, for President, and Rev. H. A. Thompson, of Ohio, for Vice President. Garfield and Arthur were elected November 2, 1880. At the same time the Republicans secured a majority in the House of Representatives for the first time in six years, while enough States Legislatures were carried by the same party to restore its control of the United States Senate.

President
Garfield,
A. D.
1881.

President Garfield was inaugurated March 4, 1881. His Cabinet was headed by the popular idol of the Republican party, James Gillespie Blaine, of Maine, as Secretary of State, who had been Speaker of the House of Representatives for a number of years, and afterward United States Senator. Senator William Windom, of Minnesota,

was made Secretary of the Treasury, and Robert Todd Lincoln, of Illinois, son of Abraham Lincoln, was made Secretary of War.

One of the first actions of the new administration was the investigation and prosecution of persons implicated in certain fraudulent transactions for the carrying of the mails, known as the "Star Route" contracts, by which the National government was defrauded to a considerable extent. After a trial of over a year the accused individuals were acquitted by a Washington jury.

At the beginning of Garfield's administration there was an unseemly contest for spoils and a few petty offices, as well as the control of the United States Senate, between the Republican and Democratic Senators; but there was a greater and far more serious contest for spoils within the Republican party itself—a fight which rent the party into two hostile factions and had the most disastrous effects upon the party for several years.

This factional controversy originated in a contest about appointments to office. The Stalwarts, headed by Senator Conkling, claimed the right to dictate appointments in their respective States; but the President, backed by Secretary Blaine, the head of the other faction, claimed the right to make appointments as he saw fit. When the President appointed William H. Robertson Collector of the Port of New York against the protest of Senator Conkling, that Senator and Thomas Collier Platt, the other United States Senator from New York, resigned, and appealed to the Legislature of their State for vindication by reelection, May 16, 1881; but the New York Legislature refused to reelect them and chose two other Senators in their stead, July 23, 1881, after a bitter contest of two months, while in the meantime the Nation had been startled by a mortal attack on the President's life.

On July 2, 1881, President Garfield was shot in the Baltimore and Potomac Railroad Depot in Washington, by Charles Jules Guiteau, a disappointed office-seeker from Illinois; and, after suffering eleven weeks, with the most heroic fortitude, he finally died September 19, 1881, at Long Branch, the famous sea-side resort on the New Jersey coast, whither he had been taken from Washington two weeks before. His death caused the most intense grief among the American people; and in England he was mourned as if he had been an English prince, and Queen Victoria and her court went in mourning for one week, while the whole civilized world expressed its sorrow. The funeral obsequies at Washington, September 23d, and at Cleveland, Ohio, where his remains were interred, September 26th, were most imposing and impressive, and the funeral day was duly observed throughout the United States.

Star
Route
Investiga-
tion.

Party
Contest
in the
United
States
Senate.

Repub-
lican
Factional
Contro-
versy.

Assassin-
ation of
President
Garfield.

Public
Grief.

Obse-
quies.

President Arthur, A. D. 1881-1885. Vice President Chester Allan Arthur was inaugurated President, September 20, 1881. The centennial anniversary of the surrender of Cornwallis was celebrated with imposing ceremonies at Yorktown, Virginia, October 19, 1881, war vessels of France and England participating, and the Hon. Robert Charles Winthrop, of Massachusetts, being the orator of the occasion. Apparently Yorktown had grown very little in a century, as its population in 1881 was only about two hundred. Guiteau, the assassin of President Garfield, was tried and convicted, and was hanged June 30, 1882.

Elections of 1882. President Arthur's administration was quiet and uneventful. In the fall of 1881 all of President Garfield's Cabinet, except Robert Todd Lincoln, Secretary of War, were superseded by a Cabinet composed of the new President's Stalwart supporters. The Senate retained its Republican majority, but the elections of 1882 gave the Democrats an overwhelming majority in the House of Representatives, and that party carried most of the States of the Union, electing General Benjamin Franklin Butler Governor of Massachusetts, also electing Grover Cleveland Governor of New York by almost two hundred thousand majority.

Brooklyn Bridge. Among the noted works of the time was the great East River Bridge, between the cities of New York and Brooklyn—then the largest wire suspension bridge in the world, being over a mile in length, and the span from pier to pier being over a third of a mile. In 1884 Alaska was constituted a regularly-organized Territory of the United States.

Cleveland's First Election. On June 6, 1884, the Republican National Convention, in Chicago, nominated James Gillespie Blaine, of Maine, for President, and General John Alexander Logan, of Illinois, for Vice President. The Democratic National Convention, in Chicago, July 11, 1884, nominated Governor Grover Cleveland, of New York, for President, and Thomas Andrews Hendricks, of Indiana, for Vice President. The National Prohibition Convention, in Pittsburg, Pennsylvania, July 24, 1884, nominated ex-Governor John Peter St. John, of Kansas, for President, and William Daniel, of Maryland, for Vice President. The Greenback-Labor National Convention, in Indianapolis, Indiana, May 30, 1884, nominated General Benjamin Franklin Butler, of Massachusetts, for President, and A. M. West, of Mississippi, for Vice President. The election resulted in the choice of the Democratic nominees and returned a Democratic majority in the House of Representatives.

World's Fair at New Orleans. A World's Fair at New Orleans was opened December 16, 1884, and lasted several months. President Arthur, in the East Room of the White House, in the National capital, was addressed from New Orleans, through the telegraph, by Colonel Richardson, the President of the Exposition, and replied through the same medium, declaring the

Exhibition to be open; and, touching a button of the electrical instrument, he set in motion the great Corliss engine of six hundred horse-power at New Orleans, a thousand miles distant from Washington, thus starting the vast series of machinery in the Exposition.

Washington's birthday in 1885 was signalized by the celebration of the completion of the great monument to the Father of his Country at the National capital, the corner-stone of which had been laid in 1848. This gigantic structure is five hundred and fifty-five feet high, seventy-five feet higher than the great Pyramid of Cheops in Egypt, and cost about one and a half million dollars. The dedication ceremonies on Saturday, February 21, 1885, were of the most imposing character; the orator of the occasion being the Hon. Robert Charles Winthrop, of Massachusetts, who also had been the orator at the laying of the corner-stone of the monument in 1848.

Monument to Washington in the National Capital.

Cleveland and Hendricks were inaugurated President and Vice President, March 4, 1885; and for the first time in twenty-four years a Democratic National administration was in power. After the Senate's confirmation of the Cabinet, headed by Senator Thomas Francis Bayard, of Delaware, as Secretary of State, the new administration entered upon its duties. President Cleveland inaugurated a new policy in the distribution of the government patronage by putting many officials and clerks under the new civil service law, refusing to make wholesale removals for mere partisan reasons, thus offending many politicians of his own party.

President Cleveland, A. D. 1885-1889.

In a few days a naval expedition was sent to protect the lives and property of United States citizens on the Isthmus of Panama against the threatened attacks of the revolutionists who had taken up arms against the Colombian government, and this small United States naval expedition utterly defeated the Panama revolutionists and forced them to respect the lives and property of United States citizens.

Civil Service Reform.

In the summer of 1885 President Cleveland interfered to protect the Indians against the encroachments of the cattlemen who grazed their herds on the lands of the Indian Territory, and when the cattlemen asked for an extension of time the President refused to grant it and ordered General Sheridan to use the army to remove them at once.

Expedition to Panama.

Ex-President Grant died at Mount McGregor, New York, after a long and painful illness, July 23, 1885. His remains were honored with a most imposing funeral pageant in New York city, August 8, 1885; and that day was marked by appropriate funeral services throughout the country. Among his pall-bearers were the Confederate Generals Joseph Eccleston Johnston and Simon Bolivar Buckner, both of whom he had fought more than twenty years before. General Joseph Eccleston Johnston was also a pall-bearer at General Sher-

Protection to Indians.

Ex-President Grant's Death.

man's funeral six years later, just three weeks before his own death. Vice President Hendricks died suddenly November 25, 1885. Ex-President Arthur died November 18, 1886, and Senator John Alexander Logan died December 26, 1886.

Suppression of Polygamy in Utah.

The United States authorities in Utah made determined efforts in the early part of 1886 to suppress polygamy in that Territory; and many of the polygamous Mormons were arrested, tried, convicted and imprisoned. These trials and convictions exasperated the Mormons, and on several occasions violent outbreaks were prevented only by the presence of United States troops.

Dispute with Mexico.

During the summer of 1886 the United States had disputes with both its northern and southern neighbors. The trouble with Mexico was caused by the arrest and detention of an American journalist named Cutting at El Paso, Mexico, by the Mexican authorities, and the Texans called loudly for war; but the affair was soon settled by the release of Cutting by the Mexican authorities.

Dispute with Canada.

The trouble with Canada was caused by the action of the Dominion authorities in seizing American fishing vessels on charges of violating the Canadian revenue laws and coming within the three-mile limit. The Maine fishermen were exasperated intensely; but the matter subsided, and the United States and British governments proceeded to settle the affair by negotiation. The treaty negotiated for that purpose was rejected by the United States Senate in August, 1888.

Earthquake at Charleston.

On the night of August 31, 1886, a dreadful earthquake shock visited the eastern portion of the United States, and was felt most severely at Charleston, South Carolina, inflicting great damage upon that city and destroying the lives of about sixty of its inhabitants. Liberal contributions were sent from all parts of the country to the relief of the stricken people of Charleston and to aid in repairing the damage inflicted upon the city. Earthquake shocks were experienced frequently thereafter at Charleston for many months.

Statue of Liberty.

The year 1886 witnessed the completion of the great Bartholdi Statue of *Liberty Enlightening the World*, on Bedloe's Island, at the entrance to New York harbor. This great statue is the work of the French sculptor, Frederic Auguste Bartholdi, and was presented by the French Republic to her great sister Republic in the New World. The statue was officially presented to the United States in Paris, July 4, 1884, by Count Ferdinand de Lesseps on the part of the French Republic, and was formally accepted by the American Minister, Levi Parsons Morton, on the part of the United States. After several years' work, and at an expense of three hundred thousand dollars, one-third of which was raised by the enterprising and public-spirited exertions of the New York *World*, a large pedestal was erected for the statue. The

American committee of the statue was headed by William Maxwell Evarts as chairman. M. Laboulaye was chairman of the French committee, which had among its members such illustrious names as Henri Martin, M. Waddington, M. de Tocqueville, Paul de Remusat, M. Simon, M. Bartholdi, the sculptor, and Oscar de Lafayette, the grandson of the renowned marquis who aided Washington and his compatriots in the establishment of American independence. The inauguration ceremonies of the statue were performed on October 26, 1886, in the presence of President Cleveland and his Cabinet, Senators and Representatives in Congress and a French delegation; and M. Bartholdi saw the completion of his work. The ceremonies were of an imposing character, and General Schofield acted as Grand Marshal. This immense statue—"the Eighth Wonder of the World"—is made of repousse copper one-eighth of an inch thick, kept in position by iron plates and braces riveting it to a framework consisting of four angle iron corner posts united by horizontal and diagonal pieces. The statue itself is one hundred and fifty-one feet high; the pedestal is eighty-nine feet high, and the top of the torch is three hundred and seven feet above the mean low-water mark. The head will accommodate forty persons and the torch twelve persons. The torch is reached by a spiral staircase and contains five electric lamps of thirty thousand candle power.

President Cleveland was married at the White House to Miss Frances Folsom, in June, 1886. The elections of 1886 again returned a Democratic majority in the House of Representatives. The centennial anniversary of the framing of the Constitution of the United States was celebrated by a three days' pageant in Philadelphia, September 15, 16 and 17, 1887. A million people viewed the great industrial parade on the first day and the military parade on the second day. The third day was devoted to addresses and orations on Independence Square by President Cleveland and others, which were listened to by many thousands of persons.

President
Cleve-
land's
Marriage.

Constitu-
tional
Centen-
nial.

During a strike and labor troubles at Chicago, early in May, 1886, the attempt of the police to disperse an Anarchist meeting was followed by the throwing of a bomb among the police, many of whom were killed and wounded. The Anarchist leaders were arrested, imprisoned and tried for murder; and seven of them were sentenced to be hanged. All appeals of the condemned were unsuccessful, as all the Illinois Courts decided against them, and the United States Supreme Court decided that it had no jurisdiction. One of the condemned committed suicide in prison by means of a bomb. The sentences of two were commuted to imprisonment for life by Governor Oglesby; and the other four were hanged, November 11, 1887.

Chicago
Anar-
chists.

**Apache
War.**

In 1888 the fierce Apache Indians of Arizona and New Mexico, who had been so often at war with the United States, were subdued by United States troops; and their able chief, Geronimo, was taken prisoner and held in captivity.

**Election
of
Benjamin
Harrison.**

In his annual message to Congress in December, 1887, President Cleveland recommended a reduction of tariff duties, and the tariff question became the issue in the Presidential campaign of 1888. The Democratic National Convention at St. Louis, June 7, 1888, after a session of three days, nominated President Cleveland for reëlection, with Allen Granberry Thurman, of Ohio, for Vice President. The Republican National Convention, in Chicago, June 25, 1888, after a session of six days, nominated General Benjamin Harrison, of Indiana, grandson of President William Henry Harrison, for President, with Levi Parsons Morton, of New York, for Vice President. The Prohibitionists, in their National Convention in Indianapolis, May 31, 1888, nominated General Clinton Bowen Fisk, of New Jersey, for President, and John A. Brooks, of Missouri, for Vice President. The Union Labor party nominated Alson J. Streeter, of Illinois, for President, and C. E. Cunningham, of Arkansas, for Vice President. The United Labor party nominated Robert H. Cowdry, of Illinois, for President, and W. H. T. Wakefield, of Kansas, for Vice President. The American party nominated James L. Curtis, of New York, for President, and James B. Greer, of Tennessee, for Vice President. The election resulted in favor of the Republican candidates, with a small Republican majority in the new House of Representatives. Chief Justice Waite having died early in 1888, Melville Weston Fuller, of Chicago, was appointed his successor during the summer of the same year.

**Dismissal
of the
British
Minister.**

The British Minister to the United States, Cornwallis West, Lord Sackville, having violated diplomatic courtesy by allowing himself to be inveigled by a political trick into answering a question as to whom American citizens of English birth ought to support in the Presidential campaign, was dismissed by President Cleveland; and the British mission at Washington was vacant until the next administration.

**Trouble
with
Hayti.**

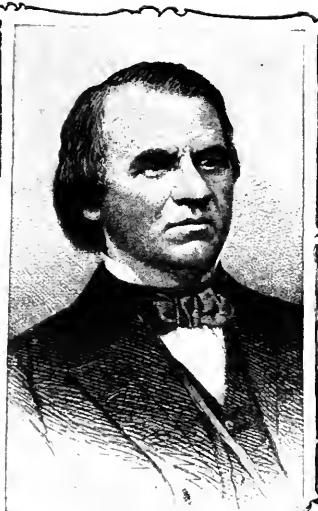
In December, 1888, the authorities of the Republic of Hayti seized an American steamer on the ground that she was aiding the revolutionists of that republic. The United States government sent Admiral Luce with two vessels to demand the surrender of the captured vessel, and the Haytian authorities complied with the demand.

**Contro-
ver-
sary
with
Germany
about
Samoa.**

For several years the Germans had interfered in the civil war in the Samoan (formerly Navigator's) Islands, in the South Pacific Ocean, which was under the joint protection of Germany, Great Britain and the United States. On January 5, 1889, German warships burned American houses and flags at Apia, the Samoan capital, tore



JAMES BUCHANAN



ANDREW JOHNSON



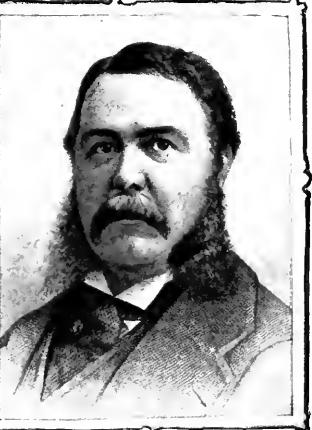
RUTHERFORD B. HAYES



JAMES A GARFIELD



GEN. U. S. GRANT



CHESTER A. ARTHUR



BENJAMIN HARRISON

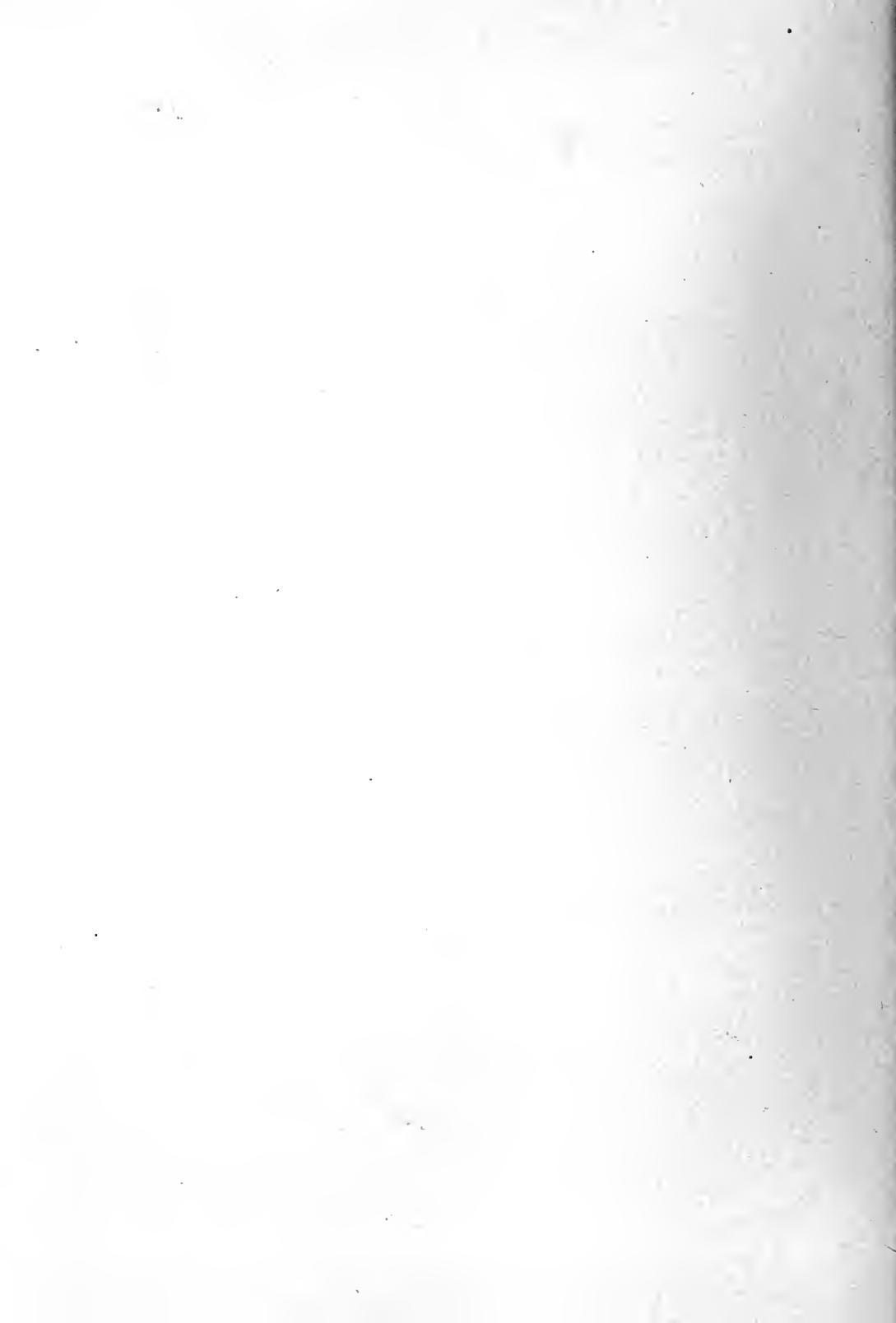


GROVER CLEVELAND



WILLIAM MCKINLEY

PRESIDENTS OF THE UNITED STATES



down the United States flag, seized some American citizens in Apia harbor and took them as prisoners on board the German men-of-war. A boat's crew from a German vessel shot at the captain and lieutenant of a British man-of-war. Americans were stabbed by German sailors. German warships bombarded villages, imperiling the lives of American citizens. The German insult to the American flag aroused great indignation in the United States. Great Britain and the United States each sent several war vessels to Samoan waters; and Commander Seavy, of the steamer *Adams*, boldly told the German consul that he would protect American citizens and their property at all hazards, and was answered that they would not be molested. The British and American consuls declined to recognize the right of the Germans to establish martial law in Samoa. On January 30, 1889, President Cleveland sent a message to Congress concerning affairs in Samoa. Prince Bismarck retreated from his former position and proposed a conference between the United States, Great Britain and Germany on Samoan affairs. This proposal was agreed to by the United States and Great Britain, and all trouble passed away.

On February 22, 1889, President Cleveland signed a bill passed by both Houses of Congress for the admission of North Dakota, South Dakota, Montana and Washington into the Union as States; and these States were duly admitted after complying with the enabling acts of Congress.

Harrison and Morton was inaugurated March 4, 1889; and the new President selected a Cabinet with James Gillespie Blaine, of Maine, as Secretary of State, and William Windom, of Minnesota, as Secretary of the Treasury, both of whom had held the same positions in President Garfield's Cabinet, and neither of whom lived to the end of this administration, Mr. Blaine having resigned some months before his death. The new President placed a large number of officials and government employees under civil service rules. The Samoan controversy was soon settled, in a conference with Great Britain and Germany at Berlin, on terms honorable to the United States.

The centennial of Washington's inauguration—April 30, 1889—was celebrated in New York city, President Harrison and his Cabinet being present. On the previous day there had been a grand naval review in the harbor. The centennial day was celebrated by literary exercises at the Sub-Treasury, and by a military parade of fifty thousand soldiers, viewed by a million spectators. The next day, May 1st, there was a great industrial parade.

The most appalling catastrophe in the realm of nature that ever afflicted the United States was the destruction of Johnstown, Pennsylvania, by a flood caused by the bursting of the dam of a large

North
Dakota,
South
Dakota,
Montana
and
Wash-
ington.

President
Benjamin
Harrison,
A. D.
1889—
1893.

Samoan
Settle-
ment.

Centen-
nial of
Washing-
ton's
Inaugu-
ration.

Johns-
town
Calamity

artificial lake thirteen miles above the town, on the afternoon of Friday, May 31, 1889, in consequence of the accumulated waters which poured into the lake after several days of heavy rains. By this awful catastrophe about three thousand five hundred human beings were swept into eternity. The American people and the civilized world responded nobly to the cry for help from the desolated Conemaugh Valley, and millions of dollars were raised for the relief of the distressed survivors, while contributions of food and clothing were also sent. Large sums were likewise raised in England, France, Germany and other European countries and from far-off Australia. After many weeks of labor, the débris was cleared away under the auspices of the State authorities of Pennsylvania.

Pan-American Congress at Washington.

In the fall of 1889 there was a Pan-American Congress at Washington, composed of delegates from all the republics of North and South America, the design of which was to promote friendly political and commercial relations among all these republics. After the meeting in Washington the delegates were taken in excursions over the United States to make them acquainted with the country and its varied material resources.

Tariff and Silver Acts.

Congress, during its session in 1890, passed what is known as the McKinley Tariff Act, from its author, William McKinley, of Ohio, which was signed by the President and became a law in October, 1890. During the same session of Congress the Sherman Silver Act, framed by Senator John Sherman, of Ohio, providing for the coinage of four and a half million silver dollars per month, was also passed and signed by the President. Congress also, at this session, passed bills for the admission of Idaho and Wyoming into the Union as States and for the erection of a new Territory called Oklahoma out of the western half of Indian Territory.

Elections of 1890.

The elections in the fall of 1890 resulted in overwhelming victories for the Democrats, who carried all but ten States and elected a majority of over one hundred and fifty in the next National House of Representatives.

War with the Sioux Indians in South Dakota and Nebraska.

In November, 1890, the Sioux Indians, excited by the preaching of the Indian Messiah, became warlike. The National government proceeded to stop the Indian war dances; and Sitting Bull, the famous Sioux chief, was shot dead when he refused to surrender, December 15, 1890. A bloody war followed; and after a number of sanguinary battles in the Bad Lands, in the south-western part of South Dakota and the north-western part of Nebraska, during December, 1890, and January, 1891, the Indians were subdued by the United States troops under General Nelson Appleton Miles, and quiet was restored. In the battle of Wounded Knee Creek the loss was heavy on both sides, and

many Indian squaws and children were among the slain. Like all other Indian wars, this war was wholly the fault of the white man.

The acquittal, by a jury in New Orleans, March 14, 1891, of eleven Italians belonging to a murderous society called the *Mafia*, which had assassinated David C. Hennessy, Chief of Police of that city, on October 17, 1890, was followed by the lynching of the acquitted Italians by an infuriated mob. Italy was so offended that she recalled her Minister at Washington, Baron Fava; and for many months the United States refused the reparation demanded by Italy, declining dictation, and shirking responsibility on the weak plea that the National government could not control a State in such case. No lynchers were punished for their lawlessness.

New
Orleans
Lynching
Trouble
with
Italy.

After the overthrow and suicide of President Balmaceda in Chili and the establishment of a new government there by the triumphant revolutionists, some American sailors were killed and wounded by a furious mob in Valparaiso, in a disreputable part of the city where they had no business, October 16, 1891. The new Chilian government angrily resented the American demand for reparation, refusing dictation, but offering to punish the murderers after an investigation; and afterward it did punish two—two more than were punished for the New Orleans lynching. The United States prepared for war, and finally sent an *ultimatum* to Chili demanding an apology and indemnity, January 21, 1892. Thereupon Chili apologized and paid an indemnity of seventy-five thousand dollars. An Italian newspaper said that the United States had one rule for Italy and another rule for Chili. Seeing its inconsistency, the United States then paid to Italy an indemnity of twenty-five thousand dollars. At a reception to the Diplomatic Corps in Washington, Secretary of State Blaine said vehemently that Italy had more reason to complain of the United States than the United States had to complain of Chili; whereupon the Marquis Imperiali, the Italian Charge d'Affaires, bowed courteously.

Valpa-
raiso
Incident
Difficulty
with
Chili.

For several years the peaceful relations of the United States and Great Britain had been disturbed by the seizure of Canadian sealing vessels by the United States revenue cutter *Rush* for catching seals within the maritime jurisdiction of the United States in Alaskan waters. The United States claimed the right to protect the seals even beyond the maritime three-mile limit—a claim which Great Britain contested. In 1892 the controversy was adjusted temporarily by a *modus vivendi*, which was renewed afterwards.

Seal
Fisheries
Contro-
versy
with
Great
Britain.

A strike of the employees in the iron works of the Carnegie Company at Homestead, near Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania, was followed by a battle between the strikers and three hundred Pinkerton detectives, with a number killed and wounded on both sides, July 6, 1892; and the Penn-

Strike at
Home-
stead,
Pennsyl-
vania.

**Other
Strikes.**

sylvania militia were called out to preserve the peace. A strike of the miners at Cœur d'Alene, in Idaho, was followed by the sending thither of United States troops to prevent violence. A railroad strike at Buffalo was soon followed by the calling out of the New York militia to prevent violence there. The violence of the strikers in coal mines on Coal Creek, East Tennessee, was suppressed by the Tennessee militia.

**Cleve-
land's
Second
Election.**

On June 10, 1892, the Republican National Convention, in Minneapolis, nominated President Harrison for reëlection, with Whitelaw Reid, editor of the *New York Tribune*, for Vice President. On June 24, 1892, the Democratic National Convention, in Chicago, nominated ex-President Grover Cleveland, with Adlai Ewing Stevenson, of Illinois, for Vice President. The People's party, in a National Convention in Omaha, July 4, 1892, adopted a platform denouncing monopolies and corporations, and nominated General James B. Weaver, of Iowa, for President, and General James G. Field, of Virginia, for Vice President. The Prohibition party, in a National Convention in Cincinnati, June 30, 1888, nominated General John Bidwell, of California, for President, and J. B. Cranfill, of Texas, for Vice President. The Socialist-Labor party nominated Simon Wing, of Massachusetts, for President, and Charles Horatio Matchett, of New York, for Vice President. The election resulted in the choice of the Democratic candidates, who had a majority of one hundred and ten in the Electoral College; while a Democratic House of Representatives was elected with a majority of almost ninety. The People's party carried Kansas, Colorado, Nevada and Idaho, and had twenty-two Electors. Several months after his reëlection, ex-President and President-elect Cleveland attended the funeral of ex-President Hayes, at the latter's home at Fremont, Ohio. James Gillespie Blaine, who had retired from President Harrison's Cabinet early in June, 1892, died January 27, 1893.

**Revolu-
tion in
Hawaii.**

By a revolution in the Hawaiian, or Sandwich Islands, January 19, 1893, the native queen of those islands was overthrown, and a provisional government was established with Sanford Ballard Dole at its head, by the leaders of the descendants of American missionaries. United States Minister John L. Stevens proclaimed an American protectorate over the Islands, and the new provisional government entered into a treaty with the United States government for the annexation of Hawaii to the United States. President Harrison sent the treaty to the United States Senate for ratification, but that body delayed action thereon.

Cleveland and Stevenson were inaugurated March 4, 1893. Cleveland was the first President with a term intervening between his first and second administrations. After the confirmation of his Cabinet,

headed by Walter Quinton Gresham, of Indiana, a former Republican, as Secretary of State, the new administration entered upon its duties. Ambassadors, instead of Ministers, now for the first time were sent by the United States to Great Britain, France and Germany; and Thomas Francis Bayard, formerly United States Senator from Delaware and Secretary of State during Cleveland's first administration, was appointed United States Ambassador at London. President Cleveland put a large number of government officials and employees under the civil service law.

Late in February, 1890, Congress decided upon Chicago as the place, and 1893 as the year, for holding a *World's Columbian Exposition*, in honor of the four hundredth anniversary of the discovery of America. Great preparations were made for this great international exhibition, or World's Fair, and invitations were sent to all the nations of the earth to participate. Immense exhibition buildings were erected on Jackson Park for the Exposition. The largest building on the grounds was the Manufactures and Liberal Arts Building. Other noted buildings were the Administration Building and the Woman's Building. The various State buildings were creditable structures. Congress finally made an appropriation of two and a half million dollars. The World's Columbian Exposition was opened with imposing ceremonies, May 1, 1893; three hundred thousand people being present. President Cleveland declared the Exhibition open. The day ended in the scintillating glare of myriads of electric lights which flashed from the mighty buildings along the lagoons. An interesting feature of the Exposition was the Midway Plaisance, covering eighty acres and illustrating the manners and customs of various civilized and uncivilized nations of the earth. During the fall immense crowds attended the Exposition daily. The highest number was on Chicago Day, when eight hundred thousand persons visited the grounds. In all over twenty-one million visitors attended the Exposition, which was about twelve million short of the Paris Exposition of 1889. The total cost of the Exposition was over thirty million dollars. The total income from receipts and concessions was over thirty-two million dollars. So there was a surplus of about two million dollars. The Exposition was unsurpassed among World's Fairs in the size of the buildings and in the extent of its exhibits. The various nations of the earth, great and small, displayed their manufactures and arts and their products of the soil and the mine. In connection with the Exposition a number of Congresses were held, such as the Literary Congress, the Educational Congress, the Congress of Republics, etc. The most interesting of these gatherings was the *World's Parliament of Religions*, which met for three weeks in September, at which Christians, Jews, Moham-

President
Cleve-
land's
Second
Term,
A. D.
1893-
1897.

World's
Colum-
bian
Exposi-
tion at
Chicago.

medans, Buddhists, Brahmans, Confucians, etc., for the first time met in friendly concourse. The Exposition closed October 30, 1893, after being open six months; the closing days being signalized by the burning of some of the Exposition buildings and by the assassination of Carter Henry Harrison, Mayor of Chicago, who was shot and killed in his office by a man named Prendergast, who was tried, convicted and hanged for his crime.

**Seal
Fisheries
Arbitra-
tion with
Great
Britain.**

In the spring of 1893 a Court of Arbitration for the settlement of the Behring Sea seals dispute between the United States and Great Britain met in Paris. The Arbitrators were Associate Justice John Marshall Harlan, of the United States Supreme Court, and United States Senator John Tyler Morgan, of Alabama, on the part of the United States; Lord Hannen, and Sir John Thompson, of Canada, on the part of Great Britain; the Baron de Courcel, a French Senator, on the part of France; the Marquis Emilio Visconti Venosta, on the part of Italy, and M. Gregors Gram, on the part of Sweden and Norway. The Baron de Courcel, the French Arbitrator, was President of the Court. The case was argued ably by Messrs. Phelps, Coudert and Carter, the counsel for the United States, and by Sir Charles Russell, Sir Richard Webster and Mr. Robinson, the counsel for Great Britain. The Court rendered its decision August 15, 1893. On every broad principle of international law the Arbitrators decided wholly in favor of Great Britain. The absurd claims of the United States to exclusive jurisdiction in Behring Sea were rejected, even Justice Harlan voting against his own country on this point, and Senator Morgan being the only Arbitrator who voted for the American claim on this point. The other equally-absurd claim of United States to an exclusive right of property in the seals frequenting the Pribyloff Islands was also rejected by the Court, the two American Arbitrators being the only ones voting in favor of the American claim. Thus on these two points the French, Italian and Swedish Arbitrators justly agreed with the two British Arbitrators in rejecting the preposterous claims of the United States. On these two points the victory of Great Britain and the defeat of the United States was complete, and justly so, as this decision maintained the freedom of the seas, in accordance with long-established principles of international law. The Court, however, prescribed regulations for the protection of the fur seals from total extinction under the joint authority of the United States and Great Britain.

**Panic of
1893.**

The year 1893 was characterized by a financial panic as disastrous as that of 1873. During the summer quite a number of banks failed all over the country, and business was prostrated, the wheels of industry stopped and labor thrown out of employment. The condition

of the National treasury and the public finances engaged the attention of the administration, and President Cleveland summoned Congress to meet in extra session on August 7, 1893. When it met the President's message recited the condition of affairs and recommended the repeal of the silver-purchasing clause of the Sherman Silver Act of 1890. The House of Representatives promptly complied with the President's request by passing an act to that effect, but the Senate delayed action for several months. As soon as the act passed the latter body it received the President's signature and became a law.

Repeal
of the
Silver
Act.

The silver States west of the Mississippi were agitated greatly, especially Colorado, which was one of the States in which the Populists were in power; and Governor Waite was very vehement in his expressions. Colorado was also distracted by labor troubles in the mining regions; and, as Governor Waite refused to put down the striking miners by use of the State militia, the mine-owing classes proceeded to take the law into their own hands "to put down anarchy and lawlessness"—in other words, to suppress anarchy and lawlessness by resorting to anarchy and lawlessness; and struggles occurred in the mining regions, especially at Bull Hill.

Labor
Troubles
in
Colorado.

Upon his inauguration, President Cleveland withdrew the treaty for the annexation of Hawaii, which his predecessor had sent to the Senate, and appointed ex-Congressman James H. Blount, of Georgia, to go to Hawaii as commissioner to investigate matters there. Mr. Blount made a report unfavorable to the provisional government of Hawaii, but the action of the administration in Hawaiian affairs was denounced by the press and was very unpopular. In the meantime Hawaii became a republic in name, but an oligarchy in fact, as ninety per cent. of the population was disfranchised by a property qualification for the suffrage.

Hawaiian
Annexa-
tion
Treaty
With-
drawn.

In January, 1894, Admiral Benham, in command of several United States war vessels at Rio Janeiro, Brazil, warned Admiral da Gama, in command of the Brazilian rebel fleet bombarding the city, against reckless firing endangering the lives and property of American citizens. Admiral da Gama sent a defiant answer and continued his reckless firing; whereupon Admiral Benham fired a broadside into the rebel admiral's fleet, practically dispersing his fleet. Admiral Benham was sustained by his government and by the American people.

Admiral
Benham's
Action in
Brazil.

The Legislature of South Carolina had passed a *Dispensary Act*, providing for the dispensing of liquors to the people of that State by States dispensaries, which could be established in any locality only by petition of the inhabitants and which prohibited all private traffic in liquors. As the great majority of the people of the State, who were opposed to the liquor traffic, did not petition for the establishment of

Dispen-
sary
Trouble
in Sorth
Carolina.

dispensaries in their midst, most of the State was practically under prohibition of the liquor traffic, and drunkenness decreased seventy-five per cent. throughout the State, while the law was very popular. The law had been a favorite measure of Governor Tillman, and was intensely obnoxious to the liquor interest and its sympathizers. In April, 1894, a lawless outbreak at Darlington quickly followed the action of constables in seizing liquor held by private individuals in violation of the law; and two constables and two lawless citizens were killed. Thereupon Governor Tillman, who was a man of great firmness and moral courage, vindicated the majesty of the law and his oath of office by sending State militia under Generals Richbourg and Farley to suppress anarchy and rebellion, instructing the militia to shoot to kill. Some of the militia cowardly refused to obey orders; but others responded with alacrity and proceeded to the scene of trouble with cheers "for Farmer Ben. Tillman," and anarchy in South Carolina was quickly stamped out and law and order vindicated, amid the plaudits of all right-thinking people. Strange to say, the press of the country, usually on the side of law and order and ever ready to denounce foreign Anarchists and lawless laborers or strikers, generally sympathized with the South Carolina anarchists, who defied a law of that State; thus showing that these newspapers were opposed to anarchy only when the anarchy was committed by certain classes and that they were in favor of anarchy and lawlessness when committed by certain other classes.

**Wilson
Tariff
Act.**

On February 1, 1894, the National House of Representatives passed the Wilson Tariff Act, so named from its author, William Lyne Wilson, of West Virginia; but the Senate delayed action on the measure for six months, and under the lead of Senator Arthur Pue Gorman, of Maryland, passed a tariff bill of its own, making a less reduction in the tariff than did the Wilson bill. In August, after a bitter controversy between the two Houses of Congress, the House of Representatives finally surrendered by accepting the Senate bill, which became a law without the President's signature, after being in his possession beyond the Constitutional limit of ten days. During this session of Congress, Utah, having adopted an anti-polygamy State constitution, was admitted into the Union as a State.

**Admis-
sion of
Utah.**

**Great
Railway
Strike at
Chicago.**

In July, 1894, occurred the most gigantic strike of railroad employees ever known in the United States. The American Railway Union ordered a strike and boycott on all Pullman cars in aid of the strikers in the shops at the suburb of Pullman, in Chicago. There was a blockade on the railways leading from Chicago and on the Santa Fé and Pacific systems. The United States government interfered to prevent interference with the running of the mails, and President Cleve-

land sent United States troops under General Nelson Appleton Miles to Chicago. Injunctions were also issued by the United States Court at Chicago, and the leading officials of the American Railway Union were arrested, including its president, Eugene Victor Debs. Trains were soon run and the strike and blockade ended. After six months, the United States Court finally sentenced the American Railway Union officials to imprisonment for violating injunctions, January, 1895; but they were released on bail. Their trial for conspiracy then began; but the evidence was all in favor of the defense, the officers who made the arrests for incendiaryism in burning cars asserting that all the incendiaries they caught in the act of firing cars wore badges as deputy marshals under their coats, thus showing that railway officials themselves had ordered the burning of worthless freight cars. This astounding evidence dumfounded the jury completely, and the Court adjourned over noon; and when it reassembled announcement was made that a juror had taken ill suddenly, whereupon Court adjourned, and the trial was closed abruptly. The prosecution could not go on with its case, as the sick juror never recovered from his illness, and, so far as known, is sick to this day, as the newspapers have made no announcement of his recovery or even of his convalescence, the indications being that his illness may exceed in duration Rip Van Winkle's famous sleep. The commission appointed by President Cleveland reported that the evidence was all in favor of the defense. In May, 1895, the United States Supreme Court decided that the American Railway Union officials would have to serve the terms of imprisonment to which they had been sentenced by the United States District Court for disobeying injunctions.

The elections in November, 1894, like those of a year previous, resulted in overwhelming Republican victories in every Northern State; and a Republican majority of over one hundred and forty in the new House of Representatives was chosen, the hitherto-strongly Democratic States of Kentucky and Missouri choosing a number of Republican Congressmen. The Republicans were universally victorious in the elections in the Northern States in the fall of 1895.

Elections
of 1894.

The expulsion of Mr. Hatch, the British consul, from Bluefields, Nicaragua, in the spring of 1895, involved that little Central American republic in a serious dispute with Great Britain, as the British government demanded an indemnity of fifteen thousand pounds sterling for the expulsion of its consul. As the Nicaraguan government at first refused to pay the indemnity demanded, the British threatened to seize the Nicaraguan port of Corinto and collect sufficient revenue from the receipts at the custom house there to pay the indemnity. Thereupon Nicaragua came to terms and agreed to pay the indemnity

Great
Britain's
Disputes
with
Nicara-
guia and
Venezuela
and the
Monroe
Doctrine.

demanded, the payment of which was guaranteed by the United States government, which had intervened in the interest of the little republic; and the trouble ended. Great Britain was also involved in a dispute with Venezuela about the boundary between that South American republic and the colony of British Guiana, and the United States also interested itself to prevent a serious rupture. The United States government had interested itself in these affairs to prevent any violation of the principles of the Monroe Doctrine.

**Allianca
Trouble
with
Spain.**

In March, 1895, the American steamer *Allianca* was fired upon by a Spanish vessel in Cuban waters, as she failed to answer a signal. The United States government demanded an apology and reparation, which, after an investigation of some weeks, Spain finally granted, as it was fully proven that the *Allianca* was outside the maritime jurisdiction of Spain. In the meantime the Spanish and Hawaiian Ministers to the United States were handed their passports by Secretary of State Gresham for official impropriety in criticising the Secretary of State through the newspapers and in giving official information to certain newspapers. Secretary of State Gresham died May 28, 1895, and was succeeded by Attorney-General Richard Olney.

**Dismissal
of
Spanish
and
Hawaiian
Ministers.**

**Atlanta
Exposition.**

On September 18, 1895, the Cotton States and International Exposition at Atlanta, Georgia, was formally opened with imposing ceremonies, when the immense machinery of the Exposition was set in motion by President Cleveland touching an electric button at his seaside resort at Gray Gables, Rhode Island, more than a thousand miles distant. The Exposition lasted three months and presented a very elaborate display of the products of the Southern States, as well as of the products of other States of the Union and of foreign countries, and was visited by hundreds of thousands of people. One of its beneficent results was the fostering of a friendly feeling between the lately estranged sections of the Union.

**British-
Venezue-
lan
Contro-
versy.**

The last time when it was thought by many that an attack was aimed at the Monroe Doctrine was in 1895, when an old boundary dispute between Venezuela and British Guiana assumed serious proportions—the United States claiming that Great Britain's course was a violation of the Monroe Doctrine; Great Britain claiming that the trouble was only a boundary dispute and that the principle of the Monroe Doctrine was not involved. The controversy dated back as far as 1814, when Great Britain acquired the provinces of Demarara, Essequibo and Berbice by a treaty with Holland. Venezuela originally claimed her boundaries to be the same as those when she was a captain-generalcy under the Spanish dominion, but in a spirit of concession she finally contented herself with the Essequibo river as the correct boundary. Great Britain seemingly acquiesced until 1840, when she

commissioned Sir R. Schomburgk, a German by birth, to draw the boundary line, which he proceeded to do by including a large portion of territory which previously had been regarded by Venezuela as a part of her domain, and to the possession of which by Great Britain she protested vigorously. After much diplomatic negotiation the monuments which Schomburgk had set up were finally removed by order of Lord Aberdeen, who was Prime Minister of Great Britain during the early fifties of the nineteenth century. From time to time other boundaries were suggested, but none were agreed upon, and in 1886 Great Britain resumed her contention of 1840 and claimed all the territory within the Schomburgk line. This was the status in 1894, when Venezuela sent a military force into the disputed territory and this force raised the Venezuelan flag at Yuruan. The next year the British police removed the Venezuelan flag, and were arrested by the Venezuelan authorities for this act, but were finally released, Great Britain demanding reparation somewhat in the nature of an ultimatum.

Thus matters reached a crisis; and in the midst of the acute stage of the controversy between Venezuela and Great Britain a breach appeared imminent between the United States and Great Britain for a few days about the middle of December, 1895, as a direct result of the message sent to Congress by President Cleveland, December 17th, taking a warlike stand on the question at issue as invov'ing the Monroe Doctrine; asking for authority from Congress for the appointment of a commission to investigate the disputed Venezuela-British Guiana boundary, and suggesting that Great Britain be asked to agree to settle her dispute with Venezuela by arbitration. Both Houses of Congress unanimously voted to grant President Cleveland the authority he asked for the appointment of a Venezuelan Boundary Commission, and the President appointed the following-named citizens of the United States as members of the proposed commission: United States Associate Justice David Josiah Brewer, of Kansas; Richard Henry Alvey, of Maryland; Andrew Dickson White, President of Cornell University, Ithaca, New York; Frederick René Coudert, of New York; Daniel Coit Gilman, President of Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore, Maryland. President Cleveland's warlike action caused an unloading of American stocks in London, almost precipitating a panic in Wall street, New York, and resulting in a loss of a billion dollars in one day, a sum equal to one-third of the Civil War debt; for which reason the President was denounced roundly by the financial magnates of the United States whose pocket-books had been touched. This financial scare caused the Democratic President and the Republican Congress to subside at once and to become conciliatory as suddenly as they had become belligerent. Thus wiser counsels prevailed;

President
Cleve-
land's
Warlike
Message
and Its
Effect.

and the United States government suggested to Great Britain that the Venezuela-British Guiana boundary dispute be submitted to arbitration. The British government at first resented the proposition as an unwarranted interference in its affairs; but, after considerable diplomatic correspondence, the terms of arbitration were agreed upon in 1896, and were accepted by Venezuela, though with some protest as to certain portions of the stipulations. The entire affair assumed importance from the fact that it embraced a practical admission, by Great Britain, of the integrity and force of the Monroe Doctrine, and furnished gratifying evidence of her readiness to settle international controversies by a resort to friendly arbitration rather than by an appeal to arms.

**Proposed
British-
American
Arbitra-
tion
Treaty.**

An incidental result of the amicable adjustment of the Venezuelan controversy was the suggestion that all future disputes between the United States and Great Britain be submitted to international arbitration. This suggestion was acted upon immediately; and, after considerable diplomatic negotiation, a treaty was concluded and signed by the two great kindred nations which provided, practically, that all questions not settled by diplomacy be submitted to international arbitration. The provisions of this treaty covered all disagreements that could be construed by either nation as a *casus belli*, and the press and the public sentiment of both nations appeared strongly to favor arbitration. Nevertheless, the United States Senate was not harmonious on the subject; and, finally, after considerable discussion and various amendments, the treaty was voted upon by the above-named body, May 5, 1897, but failed of ratification for lack of the requisite two-thirds majority vote.

**The
British-
Venezue-
lan
Arbitra-
tion
Settle-
ment.**

Great Britain and Venezuela concluded a treaty for the settlement of the Venezuela-British Guiana boundary dispute, February 2, 1897. In accordance with this treaty five Arbitrators were appointed—two by the government of Great Britain, two by that of the United States and one by that of Russia. The Arbitrators were Professor F. Martens, Professor of International Law in the University of St. Petersburg, on the part of Russia; Melville Weston Fuller, Chief Justice of the United States Supreme Court, and David Josiah Brewer, Associate Justice of the United States Supreme Court, on the part of the United States; and Baron Russell of Killowen, Lord Chief Justice of England, and Sir Richard Henn Collins, Lord Justice of Appeals, on the part of Great Britain. The counsel for Great Britain were Attorney-General Sir Richard Webster, Sir Robert Reid and others. The counsel for Venezuela were Benjamin Harrison, ex-President of the United States; General Benjamin Franklin Tracy, Secretary of the Navy in President Harrison's Cabinet; Severo Mallet-Prevost, Secretary of

President Cleveland's Boundary Commission of 1896, and the Marquis de Rojas. Finally, the formal proceedings of the Anglo-Venezuelan Arbitration Tribunal, which met in Paris, began June 15, 1899. The sessions were held in the Salon des Ambassadeurs, in the French Foreign Office—the same hall which had served as the meeting-places of the Behring Sea Arbitration Tribunal in 1893 and the Spanish-American Peace Commission in 1898. M. Delcassé, the French Minister of Foreign Affairs, welcomed the Arbitrators in the name of the French government. Professor Martens, the Russian Arbitrator, was chosen President of the Tribunal, and M. Martin, an official of the French Foreign Office, was made Permanent Secretary. The sessions of the Tribunal lasted more than three months, and the case was argued ably by the counsel of both sides. The Tribunal rendered its verdict October 3, 1899, the decision being in the nature of a compromise, giving Great Britain five-sixths of the disputed territory and Venezuela one-sixth. Great Britain obtained the gold district, and Venezuela received the territory which embraced the mouth of the Orinoco river. The new boundary line was based mainly on the old Schomburgk line.

The Presidential campaign of 1896 was one of the most important and exciting in the history of the Nation. The Democratic party had been much weakened by its successive overwhelming defeats in the elections of 1893, 1894 and 1895. The Republican National Convention at St. Louis, on June 18, 1896, nominated Governor William McKinley, of Ohio, for President, and Garrett Augustus Hobart, of New Jersey, for Vice President, on a platform declaring for a protective tariff and against the free coinage of silver except by international agreement, after the Silver Republicans headed by United States Senator Henry Moore Teller, of Colorado, bolted the Convention. The Democratic National Convention at Chicago, on July 10, 1896, after a bitter fight and a bolt on the part of the Gold Democratic delegates, nominated William Jennings Bryan, of Nebraska, for President, and Arthur Sewall, of Maine, for Vice President, on a platform declaring for the existing Wilson tariff and for the free and unlimited coinage of both silver and gold at the ratio of sixteen to one. The National Silver Convention at St. Louis, on July 24, 1896, nominated Bryan and Sewall on a platform declaring for the free and unlimited coinage of gold and silver. The Populist National Convention, in the same city at the same time, nominated Bryan for President, and Thomas E. Watson, of Georgia, for Vice President. The Gold Democratic National Convention at Indianapolis, on September 2, 1896, nominated as their candidates an ex-Union and an ex-Confederate general, namely, General John McCauley Palmer, of Illinois, for President, and General Simon Bolivar Buckner, of Kentucky, for Vice President, on a plat-

Presidential Campaign of 1896 and Election of McKinley.

form declaring for the gold standard and against the free coinage of silver. The National Prohibition Convention at Pittsburg, Pennsylvania, on May 28, 1896, nominated Joshua Levering, of Maryland, for President, and Hale Johnson, of Illinois, for Vice President, on a platform declaring for prohibition of the liquor traffic and for woman suffrage, after a bolt of a part of the Convention who then formed a National party, nominating Charles Eugene Bentley, of Nebraska, for President, and James Haywood Southgate, of North Carolina, for Vice President, on a platform declaring for prohibition, woman suffrage and the free and unlimited coinage of silver and gold. The Socialist-Labor National Convention, in New York city, on July 10, 1896, nominated Charles Horatio Matchett, of New York, for President, and Matthew Maguire, of New Jersey, for Vice President, on a platform demanding the public ownership of all means of conveyance, transportation and communication, the repeal of all sumptuary laws, the abolition of the contract labor system and the public employment of all the unemployed. This great political battle was a struggle of the agricultural and mining classes of the West and South against the money power of the East and the great financial centers of the country. The canvass was a very spirited one and resulted in the election of McKinley and Hobart by a plurality of over six hundred thousand of the popular vote and a majority of ninety-nine in the Electoral College. The election also gave the Republicans a majority in the National House of Representatives, though this majority was much smaller than the Republican majority in the House elected two years previously.

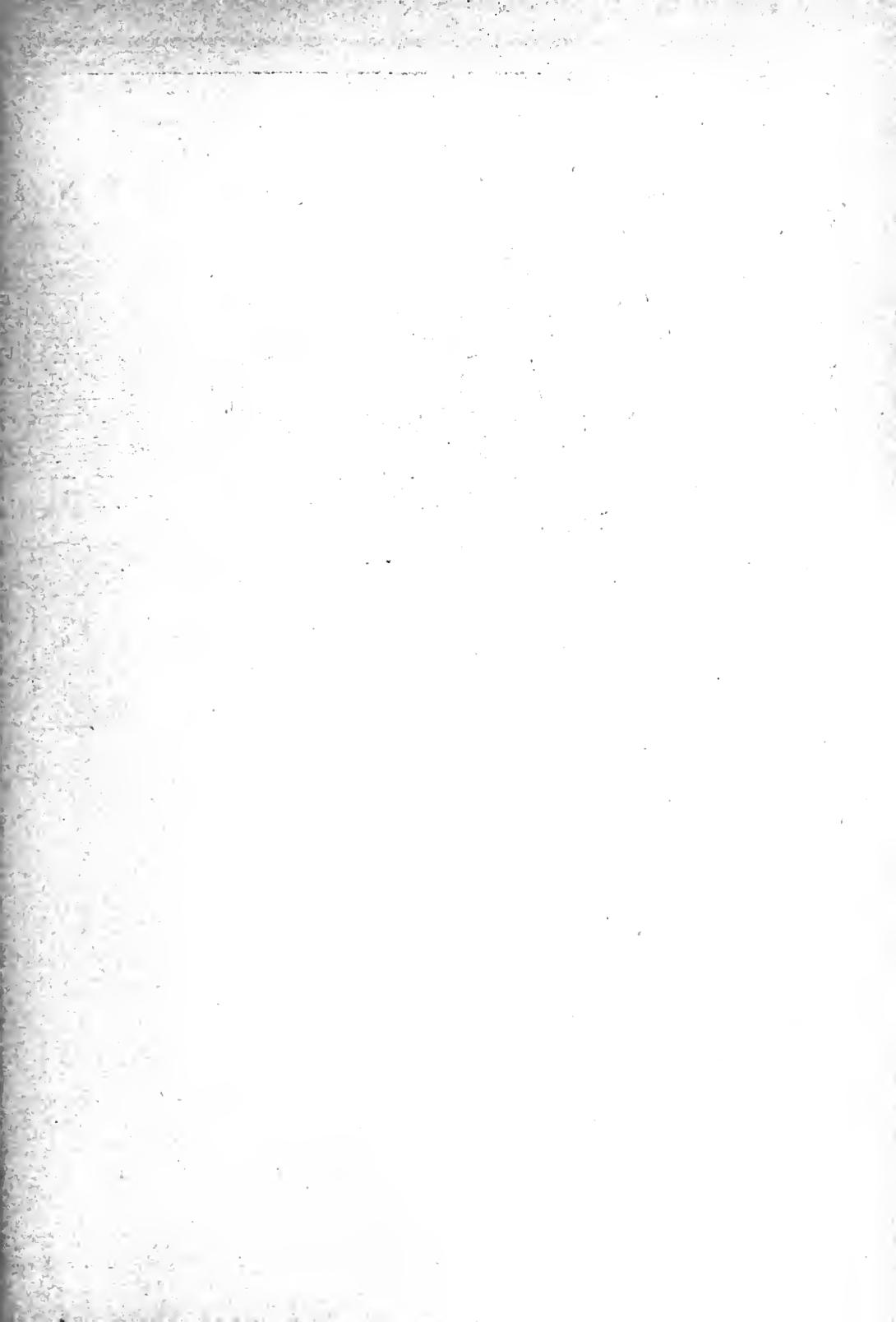
**President
Mc-
Kinley,
A. D.
1897-
1901.**

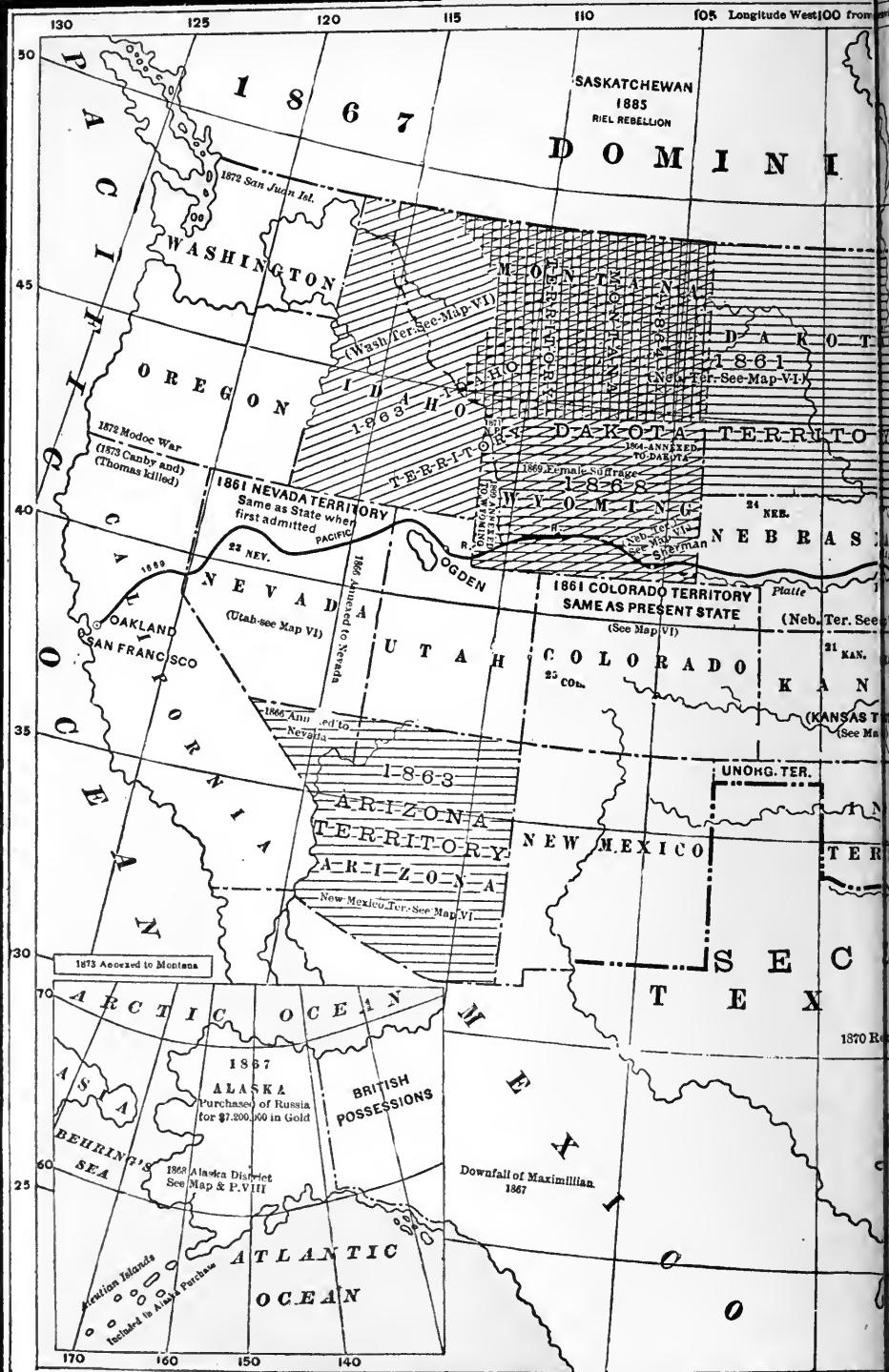
**The
Dingley
Tariff
Act.**

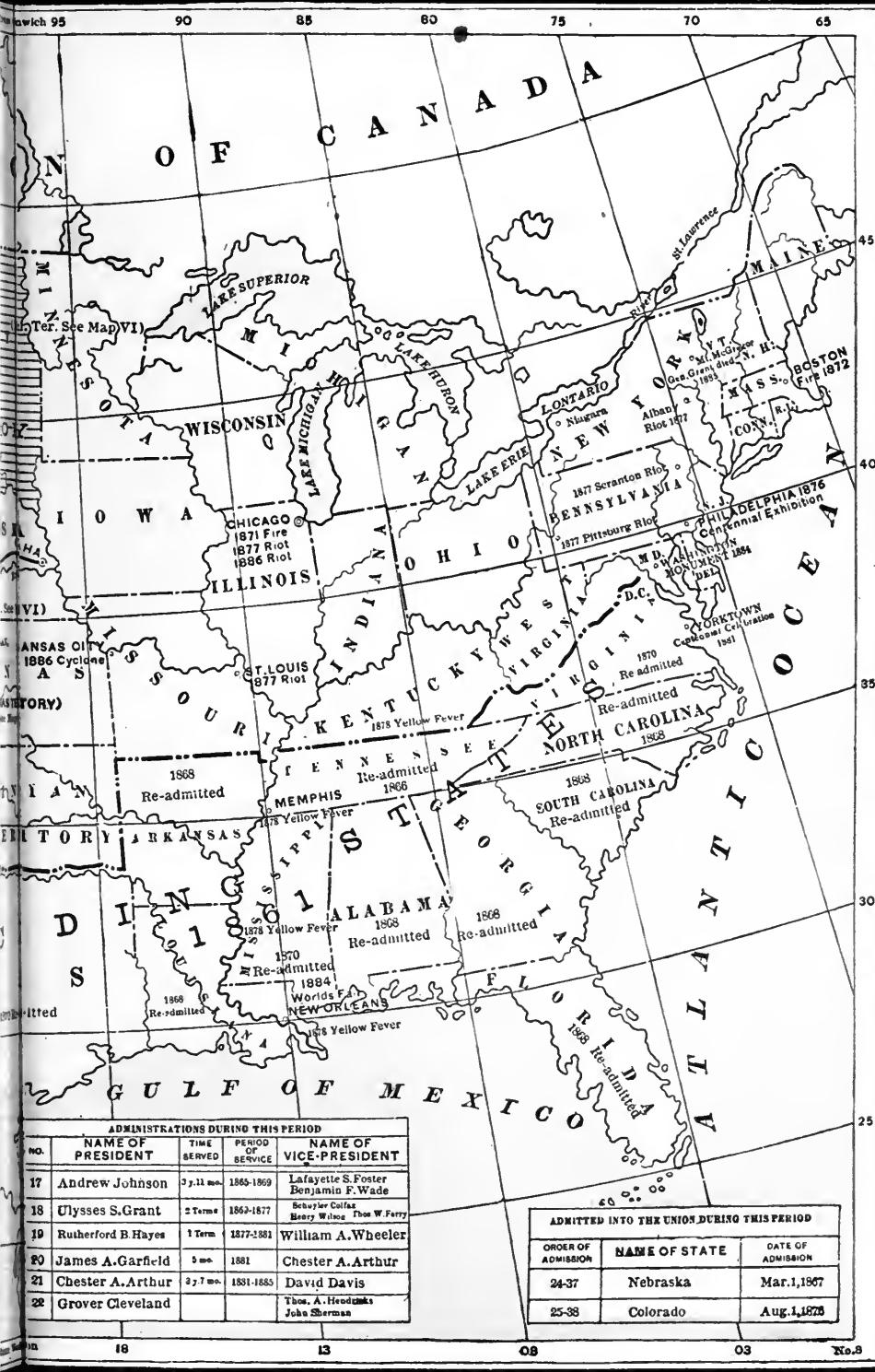
**Greater
New
York.**

McKinley and Hobart were inaugurated President and Vice President of the United States on March 4, 1897. The new President appointed a Cabinet with Senator John Sherman, of Ohio, as Secretary of State. He at once summoned an extra session of Congress to revise the tariff. Nelson Dingley, of Maine, Chairman of the Committee of Ways and Means, of the National House of Representatives, promptly reported a tariff bill increasing the duties on various imports over the rates in the schedule of the Wilson tariff act; and, after some discussion, this bill was passed by both Houses of Congress and signed by the President, thus becoming a law.

In the meantime the New York State Legislature had passed an act, which became a law upon the Governor's signature, consolidating New York city, Brooklyn, Long Island City and the counties of Queens and Richmond (Staten Island) into one great city, which is since known as *Greater New York*, comprising the five *Boroughs* of Manhattan, Brooklyn, Bronx, Queens and Richmond. The first city officials of Greater New York were elected early in November, 1897, and were inaugurated

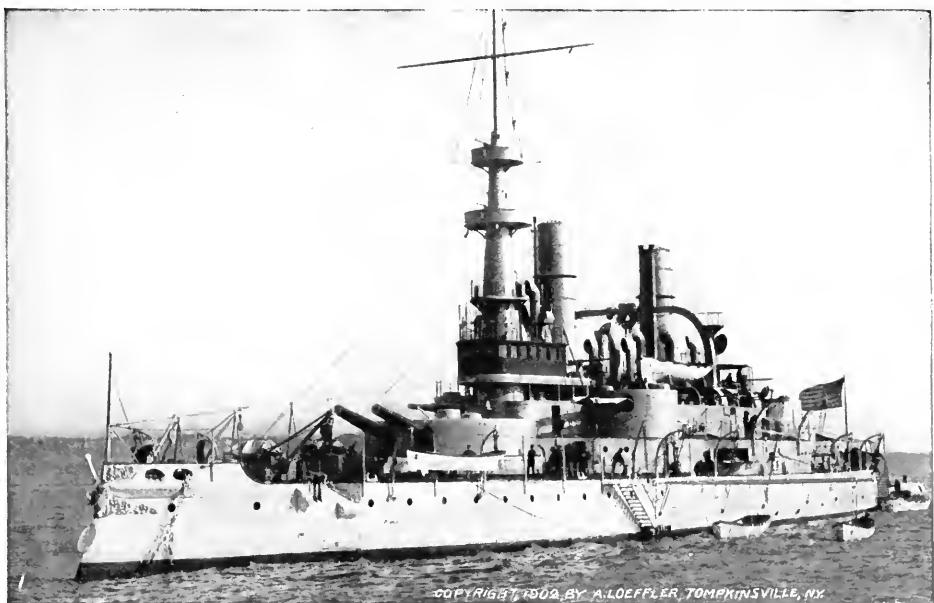




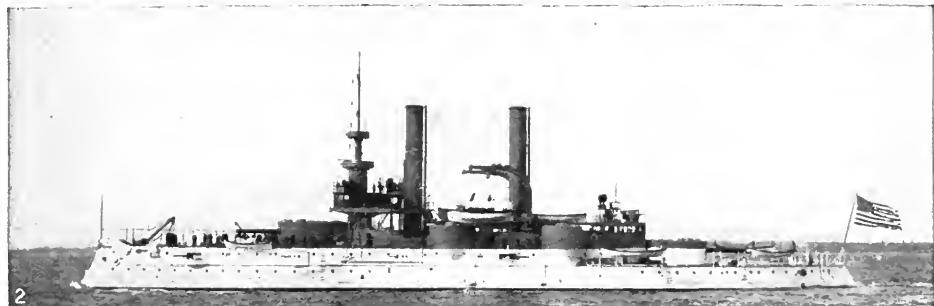




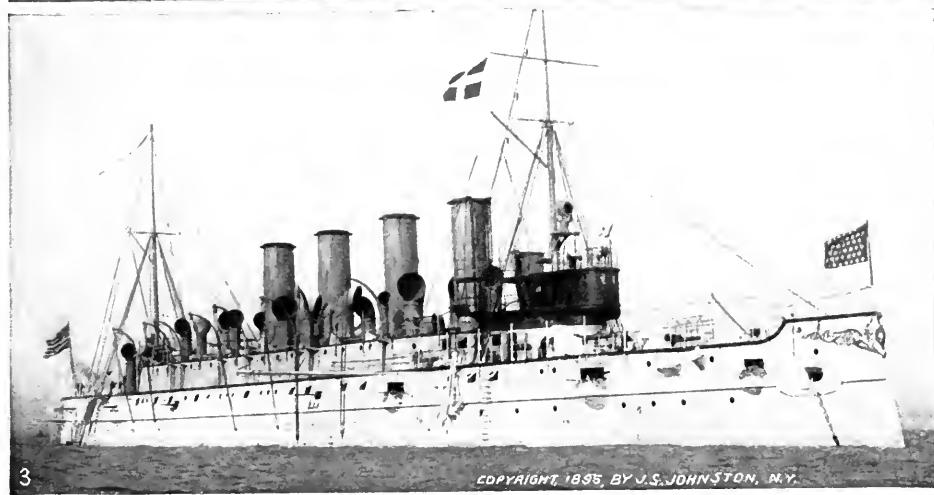
UNITED STATES NAVY



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1. INDIANA (BATTLESHIP)

2. IOWA (BATTLESHIP)

3. COLUMBIA (CRUISER)

on New Year's Day, 1898, which was the birthday of the city government of Greater New York. The flag was raised on the city hall of New York by the touching of an electric button in San Francisco by Mayor Phelan, three thousand miles distant.

SECTION X.—WAR WITH SPAIN (A. D. 1898).

BESIDES the issues involved in the Presidential campaign of 1896 there was a recurrence of a question in the foreign relations of the country at various times during the last half of the nineteenth century that threatened to involve the United States in a war with Spain. This was the ever-recurring Cuban question. For the sixth time during the nineteenth century an insurrection broke out in Cuba early in 1895; the object of the insurgents in this instance, as in all previous revolts, being the achievement of Cuban independence in the island and the establishment of a Cuban republic. This was the first effort at Cuban independence since the suppression of the previous ten years' revolt of 1868–1878.

The
Cuban
Question.

The revolt of 1895 was the beginning of a cruel, bloody and ruinous war; and its progress was viewed with absorbing interest and growing apprehension by the people of the United States, arousing very general sympathy among the American people for the cause of the struggling Cuban patriots, as the rich and fertile island lay at the very doors of the United States and as vast material interests were involved there. More than fifty million dollars of American money were invested in Cuban mines, railroads and plantations, and the annual American trade with Cuba was valued at almost one hundred million dollars. Cuban revolutionary adventurers made use of the ports of the United States to fit out military filibustering expeditions, composed of Cuban rebels and American sympathizers, to go to Cuba to aid the armed insurgents there in fighting the Spanish troops; and these filibustering expeditions the United States government, while at peace with Spain, was obliged to stop, at great expense to itself, under the provisions of international law and in accordance with the principles of the comity of nations. During McKinley's administration thus far, as well as during the previous administration of President Cleveland, the United States government faithfully observed its obligations as a neutral power and arrested all such filibustering expeditions as did not elude the vigilance of the United States authorities at the various American ports; but, in spite of all precautions, with the aid of sympathizing Americans, some filibustering expeditions got to Cuba, thus landing men and arms for the insurgents.

Cuban
Revolt
of 1895.

Ap-
proaching
Crisis.

This Cuban question was gradually reaching a serious crisis, as public sentiment was gradually forming in the United States in favor of demanding that Spain either properly govern Cuba or grant the island its independence. Some Americans were in favor of purchasing Cuba from Spain. Others took the ground that the United States should recognize the so-called Cuban republic. Others held that the United States government should intervene in the struggle even at the risk of war. Thus urged on, the United States Congress, in 1896, voted in favor of granting the Cuban insurgents belligerent rights in American ports and asked President Cleveland to request Spain to recognize Cuban independence. Early in 1897 the National House of Representatives recommended that the independence of Cuba be recognized by the United States government. But President Cleveland's administration did not act on either recommendation, and thus the matter stood at the time of President McKinley's inauguration. In the meantime the mild and generous Martinez Campos had been succeeded as Captain-General of Cuba by the more energetic and more cruel General Valeriano Weyler, whose tyrannical and brutal measures caused him to be generally execrated and his name to be held in reproach among the Cubans.

Case of
Dr. Ruiz.

The imprisonment and death of Dr. Ricardo Ruiz, a native Cuban, who had become a naturalized American citizen, and his death in a Cuban prison, where he was believed to have been murdered by his Spanish jailers, created intense and prolonged excitement and indignation in the United States, which finally induced President Cleveland's administration to take action, and the United States Minister at Madrid was instructed to ask the Spanish government to make a thorough investigation of the case. As Spain took no satisfactory action in response to this demand, President McKinley appointed W. J. Calhoun, of Illinois, special counsel to Consul-General Fitzhugh Lee at Havana, to investigate the circumstances of Dr. Ruiz's imprisonment and death; and, as a result of the investigation, Consul-General Lee reported that Dr. Ruiz died from congestion of the brain produced by a blow on the top of his head. The investigation did not clearly establish whether the blow was caused by a club in the hands of the jailers or whether it was self-inflicted while Dr. Ruiz was temporarily crazed by his inhuman imprisonment; but, nevertheless, his unjust imprisonment killed him. The investigation showed that he was not guilty of any offense; that his trial by court-martial and his imprisonment were in violation of his rights of American citizenship; that he was refused communication with his family and friends; and that, although a strong, robust man, his corpse was taken from his cell in a fortnight after his arrest.

In the meantime other outrages upon American citizens by the Spanish authorities in Cuba were constantly reported by American newspaper correspondents in the island until it became the general conviction in the United States that some definite action must soon be taken by the United States government to protect the rights and lives of American citizens resident in Cuba.

Spanish Outrages.

By an order of Captain-General Weyler, issued February 16, 1896, the Cuban people residing outside the fortified towns had been required, upon a week's notice, to abandon their homes and farms and concentrate themselves in the garrisoned towns. The immediate effect of this order was to furnish the Spanish officials in Cuba with a pretext to begin a war of extermination on the *pacificos*, as the Cuban non-combatants were called. So short a time was given to move that thousands of them were ignorant of the issuance of such order, and the first intimation thereof that they received was the approach of Spanish troops with firebrands to burn their dwellings and cruel machetes to hack them to death. Their fate, however, was more humane than that of those who received the notice in time to flee from their homes and concentrate themselves in the fortified towns, where many thousands of these *reconcentrados*, as they were called, died of starvation and cruel exposure.

Recon-centrados.

The dreadful accounts of starvation and death, through neglect and sickness, of helpless women and children imprisoned in the fortified towns, were graphically related by American newspaper correspondents in Cuba; and snap-shot pictures of their emaciated and dying bodies were published in American journals. An irresistible tide of popular indignation spread throughout the United States. So horrible and sickening were the tales of outrage, massacre and starvation that thousands of worthy people in the United States refused to believe them and accused the newspapers which published them of being guilty of sensational journalism. But still the dreadful stories were repeated and still the popular indignation in the United States went on increasing.

Horrible Accounts.

Finally Consul-General Lee at Havana sent his official reports that American citizens, as well as Cubans, were the victims of death from starvation, exposure and disease due to Captain-General Weyler's cruel order of concentration. These reports aroused the whole American people to action from patriotic considerations as well as from motives of humanity.

Consul-General Lee's Reports.

On May 17, 1897, President McKinley sent a message to Congress asking for an appropriation for the relief of the destitute and suffering American citizens in Cuba. Both Houses of Congress passed a bill making the appropriation recommended by the President, who signed the measure without delay, May 24, 1897.

Congres-sional Appropriation.

Relief for Sufferers.

The duty of distributing food, medicine and clothing among the destitute Americans in Cuba was assigned to Consul-General Lee and the American consuls in the island and was performed faithfully and conscientiously. This duty brought the consuls in contact with the suffering reconcentrados and placed them in a position to obtain information concerning the horrible accounts related by the newspaper correspondents of the outrages and sufferings inflicted upon them through the enforcement of Captain-General Weyler's cruel order of concentration.

Affairs Growing Worse.

During the summer of 1897 the state of affairs in Cuba was growing worse gradually, and meanwhile protests from the United States in regard to the inhuman prosecution of the war in Cuba reached Spain. The United States Minister at Madrid presented a note to the Spanish government courteously but firmly warning Spain that American neutrality could not be maintained permanently in the face of the dreadful situation in Cuba and the injury to American interests in consequence thereof.

Change of Ministry in Spain.

The Conservative Ministry then in office in Spain paid no attention to the note of the American Minister in Madrid; but when a Liberal Ministry under Señor Sagasta came into power, October 4, 1897, the situation in Cuba at once received some consideration at the hands of Spain, and three days later, October 7, 1897, the new Spanish Ministry announced that autonomy under Spanish suzerainty would be granted to Cuba, and, as an evidence of the Ministry's good faith in making this announcement, Captain-General Valeriano Weyler was at once recalled from Cuba and Marshal Blanco was appointed Captain-General of Cuba in his stead.

Promised Cuban Autonomy.

But Captain-General Blanco's rule proved to be no material improvement upon the administration of his predecessor. The promised plan of autonomy turned out to be a mere sham that never was intended seriously, but simply as a device for delay, as was proven by an intercepted letter of the Spanish Minister at Washington, Señor Dupuy de Lome, in which the fact was practically admitted. Reports still reached the United States from newspaper correspondents in Cuba that the reconcentrados were dying by thousands, thus arousing the American people.

American Patience.

The United States government was still disposed to give the Spanish authorities credit for good faith concerning their promises of reforms and autonomy for Cuba; and President McKinley still adhered to the policy announced in his message to Congress, December 6, 1897, that Spain "should be given a reasonable chance to realize her expectations and to prove the asserted efficacy of the new order of things to which she stands irrevocably committed."

But reports from the American consuls in Cuba commenced to come in confirming everything that the newspaper correspondents had written concerning the suffering and starvation of the reconcentrados. President McKinley was so impressed with the horrible truths disclosed by the consular reports that he took immediate precautions to be prepared for the war which many felt would be inevitable when these official reports were submitted to Congress and the Nation. Early in January, 1898, he sent some of the most formidable warships in the United States navy to Cuban waters to be prepared for any emergency.

About this time Señor Dupuy de Lome, the Spanish Minister at Washington, was guilty of an indiscretion in alluding to President McKinley as "a low politician," intimating that he was ready to pander to the low instincts of "jingo" mobs in order to secure popularity—an indiscretion for which the Minister's recall was demanded by the United States government, which the Spanish government at once complied with, appointing Señor Polo y Bernabe in his place. The word "jingo" had been applied in England to war howlers.

Finally the greatest disorders began to prevail in Havana, where the Spanish volunteers were carrying things with a high hand and threatening the lives of Americans and all sympathizers with the insurgents; and the United States battleship *Maine*, under Captain Sigsby, proceeded to the harbor of Havana to protect the lives of American citizens if necessary. Thereupon the Spanish government sent the cruiser *Vizcaya*, under Captain Ulate, into New York harbor, with the permission of the United States authorities.

When President McKinley was about to send the consular reports on the situation in Cuba to the United States Senate the terrible news reached the United States that the battleship *Maine*, while peacefully anchored in Havana harbor, had been destroyed by an explosion which caused the death of two hundred and sixty-six American sailors, on the night of February 15, 1898. The general belief among the American people was that this terrible disaster was caused by the treacherous deed of the Spanish officials in Cuba, and a general cry of popular indignation arose all over the country.

The excitement and indignation aroused in the United States by the destruction of the *Maine* induced President McKinley to delay transmitting the consular reports to Congress, lest that body, under the double excitement caused by that disaster and by the sufferings of the reconcentrados, might be incited to declare war against Spain and thus imperil the lives of all the United States consuls and other Americans in Cuba. A Naval Board of Inquiry was appointed at once to make an investigation to ascertain the cause of the disaster to the *Maine*.

American
Consular
Reports.

DeLome's
Recall.

Disorders
at
Havana.

Destruc-
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of the
Battle-
ship
Maine.

American
Indigna-
tion.

Congres-
sional
Grant
Voted.

On March 8, 1898, the United States House of Representatives unanimously voted a grant of fifty million dollars to be placed at the discretionary disposal of the President as an emergency fund for the National defense, and the next day the United States Senate took similar action. The President at once approved the act, and warlike preparations were pushed vigorously, while the excitement and indignation of the American people were constantly on the increase, this war feeling being fanned by sensational journals.

Effect of
Senator
Proctor's
State-
ment.

The calm and convincing statement of the Hon. Redfield Proctor, of Vermont, in the United States Senate, on March 17, 1898, of the horrible sufferings of the reconcentrados which he had witnessed while on a semi-official visit to Cuba, whence he had just returned, had so aroused the people of the United States and their servants in both Houses of Congress that a general public demand arose for forcible intervention in Cuba. Fiery speeches were made in favor of an instant declaration of war against Spain. It was clear that the President must act very soon or Congress would take the matter off his hands entirely. But the President pleaded with members of Congress for delay, apparently with the design of giving the American consuls in Cuba a chance for their lives.

Report
on the
Maine
Disaster.

The American people waited patiently for about six full weeks for the result of the *Maine* investigation; and when finally, on March 28, 1898, the President submitted the report of the Naval Board of Inquiry to Congress, and the report showed clearly that the explosion was caused from without, the Nation was in a ferment of excitement and indignation, and clamored for an immediate declaration of war against Spain. The voice of the American people found expression in both branches of Congress, where overwhelming majorities were in favor of war.

resident
Mc-
Kinley's
Concili-
atory
attitude.

Still the President was disposed to be conciliatory, and in his message transmitting the report of the Naval Board of Inquiry to Congress he expressed the hope that "the sense of justice of the Spanish nation would dictate a course of action suggested by honor and the friendly relations of the two governments."

Warlike
Prepara-
tions.

Meanwhile warlike preparations were pushed actively. All warships of the United States were ordered to be painted dark, preparatory for war. The United States government purchased new warships from other nations, among the most noted being the *Amazonas* from Brazil, the name of which was changed to *New Orleans*. The War and Navy Departments at Washington showed great activity. The railroads were employed busily in moving the United States regular troops and their equipments to points from which embarkation for Cuba would be easy.

In the midst of this feverish excitement and preparations for war in the United States, Consul-General Lee and the other American consuls in Cuba sailed from Havana for the United States on April 9, 1898. Upon embarking at Havana these retiring American officials were jeered and hooted by a Spanish mob. To these insults the Consul-General replied: "Wait till we return; then you will sing another tune." To this the mob responded with additional insults. The returning consuls landed at Tampa, Florida, and proceeded northward to Washington. All along his route through the Southern States, from Tampa to Washington, Consul-General Lee was the recipient of the most enthusiastic popular demonstrations, and his entire journey was one continued popular ovation. He was the hero of the hour, and upon reaching Washington he was welcomed by veterans of both sides in the Civil War.

On April 11, 1898, President McKinley transmitted a special message to Congress stating facts tending to prove that every effort to end the intolerable situation in Cuba by diplomatic negotiation with Spain had proven abortive, also stating that the only hope of relief from an intolerable condition was in the enforced pacification of the island, and asking Congress to authorize the President to use the military and naval forces of the United States to secure a cessation of hostilities in Cuba and to establish "a stable government capable of maintaining order and observing its international obligations, insuring peace and tranquillity and the security of its citizens as well as our own."

In the meantime the Six Great European Powers were using their influence for the maintenance of peace; and on April 17, 1898, the diplomatic representatives of Great Britain, France, Germany, Austria-Hungary, Italy and Russia called upon President McKinley in a body to present a joint note expressing the hopes of their respective governments for the preservation of peace between the United States and Spain. To this note the President at once gave his reply, which contained the following words: "The government of the United States appreciates the humanitarian and disinterested character of the communication now made on behalf of the Powers named, and, for its part, is confident that equal appreciation will be shown for its own earnest and unselfish endeavors to fulfill a duty to humanity by ending a situation the indefinite prolongation of which has become insufferable."

On April 19, 1898, after several exciting sessions and disagreements between the two Houses, Congress finally acted on the President's suggestions and requests contained in the message of April 11th by adopting a series of resolutions declaring "that the people of the island of Cuba are, and of right ought to be, free and independent"; demanding that "the government of Spain at once relinquish its authority and

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UNITED STATES OF AMERICA.

government in the island of Cuba and withdraw its land and naval forces from Cuba and Cuban waters"; directing and authorizing the President to use the entire land and naval forces of the United States and the militia of the several States for this purpose if necessary; and closing with a self-denying resolution "that the United States hereby disclaims any disposition or intention to exercise sovereignty, jurisdiction or control over said island, except for the pacification thereof, and asserts its determination when that is accomplished to leave the government and control of the island to its people."

On April 20, 1898, President McKinley approved the resolutions of Congress and on the same day transmitted an ultimatum to General Stewart Lyndon Woodford, the United States Minister at Madrid, for presentation to the Spanish government, formally demanding that Spain at once should relinquish her authority and government in Cuba and withdraw her land and naval forces from Cuba and Cuban waters, and finally intimating that unless a full and satisfactory response, "whereby the ends of peace in Cuba shall be assured," were not received by noon on the 23d the President would proceed, without further notice, to use the power and authority conferred on him to the extent necessary to carry the resolutions into effect. Señor Polo y Bernabe, the Spanish Minister at Washington, received a copy of the resolutions of Congress and of the President's ultimatum on the same day; and he at once demanded and received his passports, whereupon he left for Canada. On the morning of the 21st Minister Woodford replied to the State Department at Washington that before he could communicate the ultimatum to the Spanish government the Spanish Minister of Foreign Affairs notified him that by the withdrawal of the Spanish Minister at Washington diplomatic relations between the two nations were broken off and that all official communications between their diplomatic representatives had ceased thereby. The American Minister accordingly applied for and received his passports, turning the American legation over to the British embassy, and started for France, reaching Bayonne on the morning of April 22d. It was announced semi-officially in Madrid that the Spanish government regarded the President's ultimatum as a declaration of war, and therefore made no reply to it, but awaited the expiration of the time stated in the ultimatum previous to the outbreak of hostilities between the two nations.

President McKinley regarded the abrupt severance of diplomatic relations as a recognition by Spain of the existence of a state of war between the two nations; and on April 22, 1898, he proclaimed a blockade of the northern coast of Cuba from Bahia Honda to Cardenas, and of Cienfuegos, on the southern coast. The next day he officially informed

President
Mc-
Kinley's
Ulti-
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and the
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outbreak.

American
blockade
of Cuba
and
outbreak
of War.

Congress of the rupture of diplomatic relations with Spain and asked for a formal declaration of war. Congress at once declared that war had existed between the United States and Spain since April 21, 1898, and authorized the President to call for volunteers. The President at once issued a proclamation calling for one hundred and twenty-five thousand volunteers to serve for two years unless sooner discharged. The number of volunteers called for was raised in a few days. The President appointed a number of major-generals from among those who had served on either side during the Civil War, the first four appointed being Generals William Joyce Sewell and James Harrison Wilson, of the Union army, and Generals Fitzhugh Lee and Joseph Wheeler, of the Confederate army. To meet the expenses of the war Congress passed a revenue bill, which was signed at once by the President. A bill was passed raising the regular army to sixty-one thousand men, and a naval appropriation bill also was passed. The Legislatures and Governors of the various States adopted measures to strengthen and equip the militia of the respective States.

A patriotic war feeling also manifested itself in Spain, enthusiastic war demonstrations being made in Madrid and other large cities throughout the kingdom. The figure of the American eagle was torn down from a building in the Spanish capital and thrown into the street and smashed to pieces, and the Spanish flag was hoisted over the building in place of the Stars and Stripes. Hostile demonstrations were made against all the offices of American business corporations in the Spanish capital, and the American ensigns in that city were removed at once.

The Spanish government issued a circular to the other Powers explaining the attitude of Spain in this crisis and placing the responsibility for the war on the United States. The sympathy of the Continental European Powers was with Spain, as was that of the Spanish American republics; while Great Britain was in sympathy with the United States, and as a result a very friendly feeling sprang up between the two great English-speaking nations of the world. The English, Welsh and Scotch were very generally on the American side with their sympathy, while the Catholic and Home-Rule Irish were generally with Spain in feeling. The press and people of France, Germany and Russia, especially, were very hostile to the United States. It was rumored several times that the Continental Powers—France, Germany, Austria-Hungary, Italy and Russia—were about to unite in a naval demonstration against the United States, and that Great Britain had been asked to join in the demonstration, but that she refused to interfere unless it were to use her navy to aid the United States. Canada, Australia and the other self-governing British colo-

Patriotic
War
Feeling
in Spain

Attitude
of the
European
Nations

nies followed the Mother Country in sympathizing with the United States.

American Unity of Feeling.

The most beneficial result of the war was the final closing of "the bloody chasm," or estranged sectional feeling which had prevailed for more than half a century between the northern and southern sections of the American Union, as a result of the slavery question, the Civil War and the reconstruction measures. Both sections were united heartily against the common foreign foe, and prior to the breaking-out of the war the South seemed to be more anxious for the contest than the North. The eminent ex-Confederate generals, Fitzhugh Lee and Joseph Wheeler, bore a conspicuous part in the war as commanders; the former having been the United States diplomatic representative in Cuba before the rupture and the commander of the Seventh American Army Corps, and the latter having been the chief assistant to the American commanding general in the invasion of Cuba. Thus the war with Spain tended to heal the wounds caused by the Great Civil War a third of a century before and to make the American people one in sympathy, feeling and National sentiment. The Southern States responded with as much alacrity to the President's call for volunteers as did the Northern States.

Blockade of Havana.

Hostilities practically began on the morning of April 22, 1898, when the American squadron under Captain and Acting Rear-Admiral William Thomas Sampson left Key West to blockade the Cuban coast. During that day and several succeeding days the American blockading ships captured ten Spanish merchant ships, which were held as prizes, the first capture being that of the *Buena Ventura*, which was taken by the *Nashville*. On the very day of the arrival of the American blockading squadron the guns of Morro Castle at Havana fired ten shots at the American ships, but all shots missed their mark, and no shots were returned by the American vessels.

American Prizes.

Fire from Morro Castle.

For several days the American blockading ships drew the fire of the Spanish shore batteries at Matanzas, but the shots all missed their mark. On April 27th three of the American vessels bombarded the shore batteries at Matanzas and demolished the earthworks; while the return fire from a Spanish fort on the other side of the harbor was totally harmless, as all the Spanish shots went wide of their mark.

Battle of Manila Bay.

While these minor incidents were occurring on the Cuban coast an event of far greater magnitude transpired in another hemisphere. On the outbreak of hostilities the American squadron under Commodore George Dewey left Hong Kong and proceeded toward the Philippine Islands to attack the Spanish squadron under Admiral Montojo in Manila Bay. Commodore Dewey's squadron consisted of the flagship *Olympia*, the protected cruisers *Boston*, *Raleigh*, *Concord* and *Petrel*.

and the dispatch-boat *Manocari*. Admiral Montojo's principal ships were the *Mindanao* and the cruisers *Castilla*, *Reina Cristina*, *Don Juan de Austria*, *Ulloa*, *Isla de Luzon* and *Isla de Cuba*. The American ships entered Manila Bay early on Sunday morning, May 1, 1898, to the surprise of the Spaniards, and took a position opposite the city of Manila, the capital and metropolis of the Philippine Islands. Upon the appearance of the American squadron during the hour of midnight the Spanish batteries at the entrance to the harbor announced Dewey's arrival by firing upon the ships; whereupon the American squadron shifted its position near to Cavité, engaging in a fierce fight with the Spanish squadron and the forts early in the morning, the conflict lasting four hours and ending in the total annihilation of the Spanish squadron, the *Ulloa* being sunk, the *Castilla* and the *Mindanao* totally burned and the *Reina Cristina* and the *Don Juan de Austria* seriously damaged. Several of the smaller vessels were scuttled by their crews to avoid capture, and the others took refuge in Bakor creek. Captain Don Luis Cadarso, of the *Reina Cristina*, was killed. The entire Spanish loss in killed and wounded was about six hundred, while the Americans did not lose a man or a ship. The arsenal at Cavité and the forts at the entrance to the bay were also captured by the American squadron; but Dewey's demand upon the Spanish Governor-General of the Philippine Islands for the surrender of all the smaller craft in the harbor, a demand made through the British consul at Manila, was rejected by the Governor-General, Augustini, who replied: "If the Yankee admiral wants these craft, let him come and take them." The Governor-General declared that he would resist to the utmost and would not be intimidated by Dewey's threat to bombard Manila. For his great victory Commodore Dewey received the thanks of Congress and was promoted to the rank of Rear-Admiral, and afterwards he was given for life the full rank of Admiral.

Dewey's victory in Manila Bay presaged the doom of Spain's dominion in the Philippines and produced unbounded joy in the United States and gloom and sorrow in Spain. Great excitement and indignation were manifested in Madrid, Barcelona and other Spanish cities; and the country was menaced with violent revolutionary outbreaks and civil war, the Republicans and the Carlists being very restive. There was still a determination to continue the war to a final conclusion and not to submit to the demands of the United States. As a result of Dewey's brilliant victory, the United States government determined to send a land expedition to the Philippines under General Wesley Merritt, to take military possession of the islands; and supplies of coal and ammunition were sent to Dewey's victorious squadron. The young Filipino leader, Emilio Aguinaldo, had come in American ships from

Effects
Dewey's
Victory

Hong Kong to begin a new insurrection in the Philippines against Spanish authority, and he was supplied with arms by the Americans for that purpose.

Sampson's and
Schley's
Squadrons.

Meanwhile the blockade of Havana and the neighboring towns on the north coast of Cuba continued by the American squadron under Captain and Acting Admiral William Thomas Sampson, while the American Flying Squadron under Commodore Winfield Scott Schley at Hampton Roads soon sailed for West Indian waters, and Admiral John Adams Howell's squadron patroled the Atlantic coast of the United States. There were occasional slight volleys, cannonades and bombardments at points along the blockading line.

American Invasion of Cuba.

Meanwhile preparations had been made for sending American troops to invade Cuba. Early in May, 1898, a small expedition effected two landings in Cuba, one detachment landing in Santa Clara province and another at Mariel, the *Wilmington* shelling a Spanish cavalry force while landing the troops, the Spaniards losing sixteen killed and sixty wounded. The party which landed in Santa Clara province was driven back by the Spaniards and compelled to reembark, the Spaniards losing four wounded. The American transport *Gussie* attempted to land supplies on the Cuban coast for the Cuban insurgents, but abandoned the attempt in consequence of the energetic patrolling of the coast by Spanish troops. An American detachment landed near Cabanas, but was forced to reembark after a skirmish with Spanish troops, the Spaniards losing three killed and four wounded.

Fight at Cardenas.

On May 11th the American gunboats *Wilmington* and *Hudson* and the torpedo-boat *Winslow* entered the harbor of Cardenas to ascertain the exact position of the shore batteries and to attack the Spanish gunboats in the harbor. The Spanish shore batteries at once opened a heavy fire on the American vessels, and an engagement followed, lasting an hour, at the end of which the American vessels were driven back, the torpedo-boat being disabled by a shot through her boiler, and the Americans losing five killed and several wounded. A Spanish shell which burst on the deck of the *Winslow* killed Ensign Worth Bagley on the spot and wounded half a dozen others, three mortally. Ensign Bagley, a young officer, was the first American killed in the war with Spain and was buried at his home, Raleigh, North Carolina. The *Hudson* was pierced with bullet-holes, and her cabin decks were smashed and splintered. The American gunboats, although finally driven off, had made dreadful havoc in the town and harbor of Cardenas, destroying a large part of the town near the wharves, burning a gunboat and destroying two torpedo-boat destroyers. While the action against Cardenas was in progress the American gunboat *Machias* shelled the battery and barracks on the Diana Cay, twelve

miles off Cardenas harbor, demolishing the barracks; and Ensign Willard, with an armed boat's crew, pulled ashore, took possession of the ruins and hoisted the American flag over a blockhouse.

On the day of the fights at and near Cardenas—May 11, 1898—three American vessels, the cruisers *Marblehead* and *Windom* and the gunboat *Nashville* steamed up the harbor of Cienfuegos, on the southern coast of Cuba, and cut the cable connecting Havana with Santiago de Cuba, after a sharp engagement with the thousands of Spanish troops who lined the shore, concealed behind some improvised breastworks. One seaman of the *Marblehead* was killed outright, and other Americans were severely wounded, while a number of the *Marblehead's* crew were slightly wounded. As several shots were fired upon the American vessels from the lighthouse, the American ships for a moment concentrated their fire upon the lighthouse and blew it to pieces, killing and wounding many Spaniards. Captain Maynard, of the *Nashville*, was slightly wounded by a bullet which had passed through his ensign's shoulder; while Lieutenant Winslow was shot through the hand. By the cutting of the cable in the harbor of Cienfuegos, Captain-General Blanco was cut off from all communication with eastern Cuba and with Europe—a consummation which was regarded as essential by the United States government.

Fight at
Cien-
fuegos.

An American boat attempting to destroy torpedoes at the mouth of the canal at Cardenas was blown up and ten men perished. On May 13th the Spanish troops prevented the landing of an American force at Acuas and Salado beaches, in the province of Pinar del Rio. On May 14th a severe engagement occurred off the harbor of Havana between three American ships and two Spanish vessels, the gunboat *Nueva España* and the cruiser *Venadito*; each cannon-shot from the Spanish vessels being followed by cheers from the crowd on the shore, who shouted: "Viva España!" The American ships were finally driven off, one of them being seriously damaged. On May 17th several American warships appeared off Caibarien and were soon encountered by four Spanish gunboats from Havana Bay, which fired thirty shots at the American vessels, driving them away.

Fighting
on the
Cuban
Coast.

On May 12th Rear-Admiral Sampson, with nine vessels of his squadron, bombarded San Juan, the capital of Porto Rico, concentrating his attack on the batteries defending the city at daylight; the engagement lasting three hours and doing much damage to the batteries, but little injury to the city. The Americans sustained slight injury. One American was killed on board the *New York*, and seven were wounded in the squadron. The Spanish loss was four killed and thirteen wounded. One citizen was killed and thirty were wounded. The Spanish steamer *Rita* was captured by the American auxiliary

Bombard-
ment of
San Juan,
Porto
Rico.

cruiser *Yale*, which took her crew on board. The foreign consuls and thousands of the inhabitants sought refuge in the interior of the island. Two Spanish soldiers were killed at Morro Castle, and several were wounded at San Cristobal. A shell entered the prison, slightly wounding four persons. Most of the shells fell in the bay. One struck the gangway of the steamer *Manuela*, and another the pilot-house of the *Alfonso XII*. The hospital, the cathedral, the town-hall, the barracks, the seminary of San José church and sixteen dwellings were struck. Mr. Brown, a British subject, was killed by a bursting shell on the wharf.

Cervera's
Spanish
Fleet.

For several weeks a Spanish fleet under Admiral Cervera had been hovering around the Cape de Verd Islands and had at last disappeared, its destination being unknown to the Americans. The fleet consisted of the cruisers *Cristobal Colon*, *Maria Teresa*, *Vizcaya* and *Almirante Oquendo* and the torpedo-boat destroyers *Pluton* and *Furor*. On May 12, 1898, this Spanish fleet reached the West Indies, arriving off the French island of Martinique on that day, thus setting all doubts at rest. Upon hearing of the appearance of Admiral Cervera's fleet in West Indian waters the American squadron under Acting Rear-Admiral Sampson sailed from Porto Rico in search of it. The Spanish torpedo-boat destroyer *Furor* entered the harbor of Fort de France, in Martinique; but the remainder of Cervera's fleet, after coaling from four ships that waited outside, steamed westward into the Caribbean Sea, and arrived off the Dutch island of Curaçoa, obtaining more coal there, May 14, 1898. The next evening the Spanish fleet sailed westward, the *Vizcaya* and the *Maria Teresa* taking on board seven hundred tons of coal and a vast quantity of provisions. Lieutenant Blue, of South Carolina, in a secret land journey along the harbor, discovered the Spanish ships.

Bombard-
ment of
Harbor
Forts at
Santiago
de Cuba.

On the night of May 29, 1898, two Spanish torpedo-boats emerged from the harbor of Santiago de Cuba, but were discovered and driven back by the united American squadrons under Acting Admiral Sampson and Commodore Schley, which bombarded Morro Castle and the other forts at the entrance to the harbor on May 31st. The united American squadrons consisted of fifteen battleships, cruisers, gun-boats and other vessels, namely, the *Iowa*, the *Oregon*, the *Texas*, the *Massachusetts*, the *New York*, the *Brooklyn*, the *New Orleans*, the *Minneapolis*, the *Marblehead*, the *Scorpion*, the *Vesuvius*, the *Harvard*, the *Yale* and the *Eagle*.

The
Oregon's
Voyage.

The battleship *Oregon* just had arrived in West India waters, after a voyage of about fifteen thousand miles from San Francisco, down the Pacific, around Cape Horn and up the Atlantic, in the course of a month, during which the American people felt considerable anxiety

for her safety. The harbor of Santiago was mined very extensively. On May 26th an American steamer landed four hundred and fifty Cubans at another point, with a large supply of arms, ammunition and provisions for the insurgents.

On June 3, 1898, the most gallant exploit of the war was performed by a little band of American sailors from the united squadrons before Santiago harbor. In order to prevent the escape of Admiral Cervera's warships from the harbor and to complete the blockade, Naval Constructor Richmond Pearson Hobson, of Alabama, and a volunteer crew of seven men took the collier *Merrimac* to the entrance of the harbor, and, amid a rain of shot and shell from the Spanish forts, sank the vessel in the channel. The gallant little band escaped with their lives, but were captured by the Spaniards, who held them as prisoners of war for a short time, until they were exchanged. Dewey and Hobson were regarded as the leading heroes of the war.

On June 7th the American squadrons again bombarded the forts at the entrance to the harbor of Santiago de Cuba, causing very considerable damage to the forts and batteries, Morro Castle being practically reduced to a heap of ruins, thus completing the ruin and destruction begun by the previous bombardment.

Meanwhile the Americans were preparing to invade Cuba in force by way of Santiago, to be in close touch with the squadrons of Sampson and Schley. On June 10th a force of six hundred American marines landed at Guantanamo, about forty miles from Santiago de Cuba, and repulsed night attacks upon their position, losing four men killed and several wounded, among the killed being the surgeon, Dr. Gibbs, of Richmond, Virginia.

After considerable preparation the United States government was ready to send an army of eighteen thousand men under General William Rufus Shafter to invade Cuba in the neighborhood of Santiago. In addition to the one hundred and twenty-five thousand volunteers called for on April 23d, the President, on May 25th, issued another call for seventy-five thousand additional volunteers, making the total of two hundred thousand volunteers. This second call, like the first, was responded to quickly, and the required number was soon made up. Each State was called upon to furnish its proportional quota, and in many cases the militia regiments of the various States were assigned to this purpose, but the greater part of the army was newly recruited. One of the most noteworthy organizations was the *Rough Riders*, organized mainly through the energy and largely at the expense of Mr. Theodore Roosevelt, Assistant Secretary of the Navy, who himself became its lieutenant-colonel, Dr. Leonard Wood being the colonel. This regiment was made up of cowboys from the Western Plains and

Sinking
of the
Merrimac.

Renewed
Bombard-
ment of
Santiago
Harbor
Forts.

Skirmish
at Guan-
tanamo.

American
Prepara-
tions.

athletic young men from New York's fashionable society, and it was one of the most effective fighting organizations in the American army. Camps of instruction and discipline were established at Camp Alger, near Washington, D. C.; at the old battlefield of Chickamauga, in northern Georgia; at Jacksonville and Tampa, Florida, and other places. At these camps troops were prepared for the invasion of Cuba and the Philippines.

**American
Expedi-
tion to
Cuba.**

On June 13th an expedition of sixteen thousand men, under the chief command of Major-General William Rufus Shafter, embarked on transports at Tampa, Florida, for the invasion of Cuba. Under General Shafter served Generals Joseph Wheeler, Henry Wade Lawton, Adna Romanza Chaffee, Samuel Baldwin Marks Young, Jacob Ford Kent, William Ludlow and others. This expedition reached Biaquiri, in the vicinity of Santiago de Cuba, on June 20, 1898, and landed there on the 22d, 23d and 24th. These troops were mostly regulars, and landed under the protection of the squadrons of Sampson and Schley, which kept up an incessant bombardment of the Spanish forts and batteries, while they had the coöperation of the Cuban insurgents under General Calixto Garcia.

**Move-
ment
against
Santiago
de Cuba.**

After landing their whole force of sixteen thousand men the Americans were ready to march against Santiago de Cuba, the largest city in Cuba, next to Havana, and the metropolis of eastern Cuba. The city was garrisoned by eight thousand Spanish troops under General Linares, lying behind strong intrenchments, and ready to offer a desperate resistance, with the aid and coöperation of Admiral Cervera's warships in the harbor.

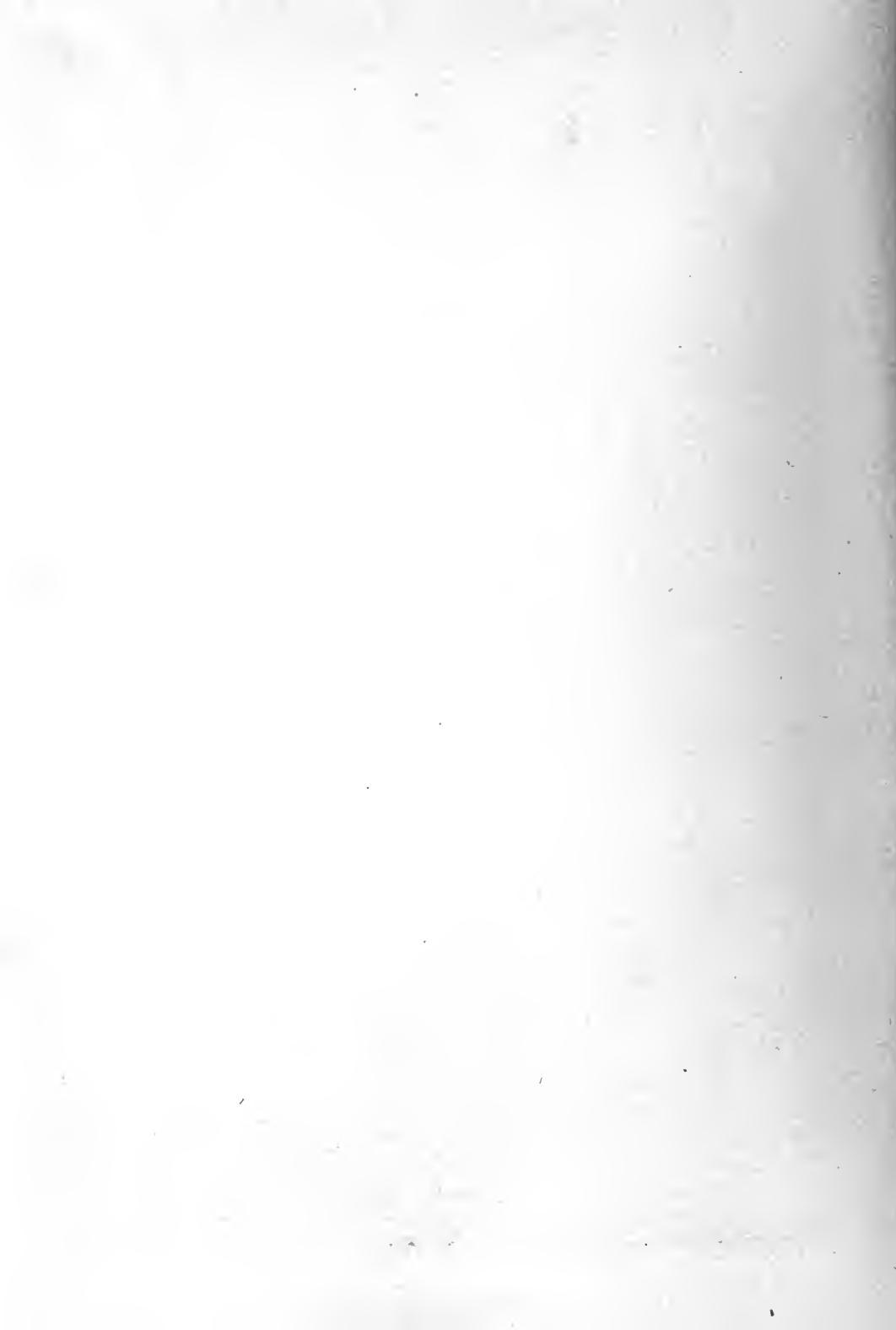
**Battle of
La
Quisina.**

On the morning of June 24, 1898, while marching in the direction of Santiago de Cuba, and upon reaching the Pont La Quisina, about four miles west of Siboney, where a skirmish had occurred on the preceding day between Cubans and Spaniards in which one Cuban was killed and eight were wounded, the American advance encountered twelve hundred Spaniards posted behind stone walls on a very high and steep hill; and the battle of La Quisina followed. While the Rough Riders under Colonel Wood were engaged on the top of the plateau, the regulars under General Young were fighting on the hillsides several miles distant. The Spaniards had assembled at these points to block the American advance against Santiago; and the Americans proceeded to dislodge them, but failed to get the coöperation of the Cubans until the fight was almost ended. The regulars faced the Spaniards on the flank, while the Rough Riders opposed them in front. While marching along a narrow trail through thick, high underbrush and grass, where the Spaniards were lying in ambush and protected by a strong barbed-wire fence, the body of a dead Cuban



ROOSEVELT AT SAN JUAN, CUBA

From the Painting by E. J. Delahaye



was found in the road. The Spaniards opened fire from their ambuses upon the two American columns about the same time, killing and wounding quite a number. The Americans fired into the thickets in which the Spaniards were concealed, and desperate fighting occurred at both points. Lieutenant-Colonel Roosevelt led his men into a thicket, amid the deadly volleys from the Spanish Mauser rifles. After a terrible fight in the thicket the Spaniards were driven from their ambush into the more open ground, where they were routed and sought refuge in a blockhouse, which they abandoned on the approach of the Rough Riders under Colonel Wood and Lieutenant-Colonel Roosevelt; while General Young's regulars drove the other Spanish detachment from their ambush to seek shelter in the blockhouse, from which they were dislodged by the Rough Riders; and the battle of La Quisina ended in an American victory. The conflict was deadly, and the losses in killed and wounded were heavy on both sides. Sergeant Hamilton Fish, Jr., was the first American killed in the battle, being shot through the heart and dying instantly. Captain Capron and Major Brodie were also among the Americans killed. The American loss was twenty-two killed and about eighty wounded.

The next day the Americans occupied the high ridge of Savilla, from which they beheld the city of Santiago, five miles distant. The advance continued on the 27th. The remainder of the American expedition landed during the next two days, General Shafter and his staff going ashore on the 29th; and the entire American army was ready to attack the Spanish positions around Santiago.

On to
Santiago.

On July 1, 1898, the whole American army was engaged from morn till sunset in fierce fighting with the Spanish troops who held the outer earthworks in the defenses around Santiago. General Lawton's division and General Chaffee's brigade advanced against the strong Spanish position at the village of El Caney, two miles north of Santiago, garrisoned by five hundred Spanish troops, who fired upon the advancing Americans, when a fierce conflict of eight hours ensued, ending in the capture of El Caney by the Americans at four in the afternoon. General Val Del Rey, the Spanish commander at El Caney, was shot through both legs just as his troops were firing their last round of ammunition and as he gave the order to retreat. A moment later he was shot through the head and killed. While the fighting at El Caney was in progress, General Kent's division and the cavalry were engaged with the Spaniards who occupied San Juan Hill, in which the Rough Riders were led in a determined charge up the hill by Lieutenant-Colonel Roosevelt; and, after the most sanguinary fighting and the most resolute courage on both sides, the Americans finally captured San Juan Hill with heavy loss. The Americans,

Three
Days'
Land
Battle of
Santiago.

Capture
of El
Caney
and San
Juan Hill

however, failed in their efforts to get possession of Aguedores. The next day—July 2, 1898—the Spaniards made desperate but unsuccessful efforts to recapture El Caney and San Juan Hill, opening the day's fighting by firing from their defenses upon the American trenches and killing and wounding many American troops; and fierce artillery and infantry fighting continued all day until late at night, when the Spaniards made a furious sortie from Santiago, which the Americans soon silenced by a heavy return fire from their batteries. On the third day—Sunday, July 3, 1898—there was somewhat desultory firing on both sides around El Caney and San Juan Hill, lasting from dawn until near ten in the forenoon, when the continuous sound of the big guns in the naval fight at the harbor entrance was heard. In this three days' battle the whole American army of eighteen thousand men under General Shafter, and four thousand five hundred Cubans under General Calixto Garcia, fought thirteen thousand Spaniards under General Linares. The entire American loss in killed, wounded and missing during the three days was two thousand and two. The Spanish loss in killed and wounded was almost two thousand. General Linares himself was wounded, so that the command of the Spanish army finally devolved on General Toral y Velasquez. The land battle of Santiago, fought on the first three days of July, 1898, occurred on the thirty-fifth anniversary of the battle of Gettysburg, fought on the first three days of July, 1863.

**Sea-Fight
of
Santiago
Harbor
Entrance.**

On the third and last day of the land battle of Santiago—Sunday, July 3, 1898—was fought the second and last great and decisive sea-fight of the war, at the entrance to Santiago harbor—an American naval victory as great as that of Dewey in Manila Bay, and which sounded the doom of Spanish dominion in the West Indies, as that of Dewey had proved to be the death-knell of Spain's power in the Far East. On the morning of that memorable Sunday, Admiral Cervera attempted to escape from Santiago harbor with his squadron, sending his two torpedo-boats some miles east to draw the American ships there, while he issued from the harbor entrance with his four cruisers to escape into the open sea. Acting Rear-Admiral Sampson had gone eastward some miles to confer with General Shafter; and in his absence Commodore Schley, with the two combined American squadrons, destroyed the four Spanish cruisers; the *Maria Teresa*, the *Almirante Oquendo* and the *Vizcaya* being soon reduced to burning wrecks, and would have been sunk had they not been driven ashore; while the *Cristobal Colon*, in attempting to escape westward, was pursued, overtaken and wrecked by the *Oregon* and the *Brooklyn*, whose crushing fire compelled her to pull ashore and haul down her colors. The two Spanish torpedo-boats, the *Pluton* and the *Furor*, were de-

stroyed by the destructive fire of the *Gloucester*, under Lieutenant-Commander Richard Wainwright. Not a shot from the guns of the Spanish ships told, while every shot of the American vessels produced telling effect. The battleship *Iowa*, under Captain Robley Dunglison Evans, and the battleship *Texas*, under Captain John Philip, were among the most conspicuous American vessels in this great sea-fight. The Spanish loss in killed and wounded was about three hundred, many of them officers; Admiral Villamil, the second in command, being among the killed. Admiral Cervera, who was wounded in the arm, and about eighteen hundred of his men were made prisoners. Not one American vessel was damaged seriously, and only one American was killed. Up to the masthead of the *Oregon* went a pennant. The signal officer read the words: "Remember the *Maine*." Schley answered: "Tell them we have." There was a roar as the answer went up. When the men of the *Texas* cheered as the Spanish ships lay as helpless, burning wrecks, Captain Philip stopped them, saying: "Don't cheer, boys; the poor devils are dying!" At the close of the fight he said: "I want to make public acknowledgment here that I believe in God the Father Almighty. I want all you officers and men to lift your hats and from your hearts offer silent thanks to the Almighty." All hats were lifted, and after several moments of absolute silence the crew gave three hearty cheers for their beloved commander. Admiral Cervera was received on board the *Gloucester* by Lieutenant-Commander Wainwright, who grasped the hand of the gray-bearded Spanish admiral, saying to him: "I congratulate you, sir, upon having made as gallant a fight as ever was witnessed on the sea." The next day—Monday, July 4, 1898—Admiral Cervera's last ship, the old cruiser *Reina Mercedes*, while attempting to escape from the harbor, was quickly sunk by a pouring rain of shot and shell from the American ships. Admiral Cervera was taken to the United States, where he was received very courteously and generously, being allowed every freedom and treated more as a guest than as a prisoner, and being shown every mark of respect by the American people, who looked upon him as a gallant and generous foe.

Capture
of
Admiral
Cervera.

The great American land and naval victories in the vicinity of Santiago made the final surrender of that city and its Spanish garrison only a question of time. The Spanish commander, General Toral y Velasquez, who commanded in place of the wounded General Linares, vainly endeavored to delay the inevitable advance of the victorious American army within bombarding distance of the city. After two weeks of negotiation about the terms of surrender—Toral vainly seeking for the most favorable terms, at first asking Generals Shafter and Wheeler to be allowed to march out with the honors of war, and after-

Surrender
of
Santiago.

ward asking to be sent back to Spain—he finally agreed to an unconditional surrender, after General Nelson Appleton Miles arrived upon the scene and insisted upon such terms; and on July 14, 1898, he surrendered the city of Santiago, with the eastern end of Cuba and a Spanish army of nearly twenty-five thousand men, to General Shafter, the United States agreeing to convey the Spanish troops home to Spain in American transports. Three days later—July 17, 1898—after the Spanish troops had marched out and grounded their arms, the Stars and Stripes were raised over Santiago.

Capture of Nipe. On July 21, 1898—the thirty-seventh anniversary of the first battle of Bull Run—a short and decisive naval engagement took place at Nipe, on the north-eastern coast of the province of Santiago and west of the province surrendered to General Shafter; four American vessels—the *Topeka*, the *Annapolis*, the *Wasp* and the *Leyden*—sinking a Spanish gunboat, dispersing a detachment of Spanish troops, silencing three Spanish forts and raising the Stars and Stripes over the City Hall of Nipe, all within an hour.

Camara's and Watson's Squadrons. On June 17, 1898, a Spanish squadron under Admiral Camara sailed from Cadiz eastward through the Mediterranean, arriving at Port Said, Egypt, on June 26th, evidently destined for the Philippines to fight Dewey. The next day the announcement came from Washington that a powerful American squadron under Commodore John Crittenden Watson would be sent against the coast of Spain itself if Camara proceeded on his eastward journey. Camara's fleet paid the heavy expense of sailing through the Suez Canal on July 5th, but was refused permission to coal by the British authorities, and soon returned through the canal and sailed back to Spain.

Conquest of Porto Rico. General Nelson Appleton Miles, the American commander-in-chief, had landed in Cuba on July 11, 1898; and on the 21st he sailed with an army on transports and a naval convoy for Porto Rico. On July 25th his first landing was effected at Guanica, where the Spanish troops made a spirited resistance; but Lieutenant-Commander Wainwright, of the *Gloucester*, raised the American flag over the town. General Miles occupied Ponce on July 29th, the Spanish troops fleeing on his approach. All the towns on his route had submitted, the inhabitants welcoming the invaders. At Yauco the Americans were welcomed in an address by the Alcalde (Mayor) and a public proclamation was issued dated: "Yauco, Porto Rico, United States of America, July 27th." Major Webb Hayes, of the Sixth Ohio regiment, son of President Hayes, hoisted the Stars and Stripes on the palace amid the cheers of the populace. At Ponce the Americans were also welcomed with shouts and cheers from men, women and children. General Miles issued a proclamation assuring the inhabitants that the Americans had come

to give them liberty and deliver them from oppression. Colonel Hullings occupied the town of Juana Diaz, on the road to San Juan, July 31st, and entered Coamo, eight miles farther on, August 1st, the inhabitants everywhere welcoming the Americans. On August 2d another American expedition, under General John Rutter Brooke, landed at Arroyo, sixty miles east of Ponce. General Stone made a dashing reconnaissance northward toward Arecibo, entering Adjuntas with five troops and four correspondents, August 1st, and the next day advancing along the Utanado road, being welcomed by the inhabitants of all the towns through which he passed, women and children strewing the streets with flowers and waving American flags from houses and town halls. On August 5th the foreign consuls at San Juan advised the Spanish authorities to surrender the island to the American troops, but the Spaniards resolved on resistance, whereupon the foreign consuls determined to establish a neutral zone. The Americans occupied Guayama, August 5th, after a slight skirmish; and General Wilson captured Coamo, August 9th, with a loss of seven men wounded. General Schwan occupied Mayaguez, August 11th, after the Spaniards had evacuated the town. On August 12th, while a severe action was in progress near Coamo, news arrived of the signing of the peace protocol and the suspension of hostilities; but two days later, unaware of the protocol, the Spaniards attacked General Schawn's column between Mayaguez and Lares.

Soon after Dewey's naval victory in Manila Bay the United States government decided to send a land expedition under General Wesley Merritt to the Philippines. The first contingent, numbering twenty-five hundred troops, under General Thomas McArthur Anderson, sailed from San Francisco in the transports *Australia*, *City of Sydney* and *City of Pekin* on May 25, 1898, being joined at Honolulu by the armored cruiser *Charleston*, which had left San Francisco on May 22d to reinforce Dewey's victorious squadron; and the whole contingent reached Cavité on June 30, 1898, having taken formal possession of the Ladrone Islands on the way, Captain Leary being left with a small American garrison on the island of Guahan, or Guam, while the Spanish governor and garrison were taken along as prisoners of war. The second American contingent, under General Francis Vinton Greene, a descendant of relatives of the American Revolutionary General Nathaniel Greene, sailed from San Francisco on four transports on June 15th and arrived at Cavité on July 20th. The third American contingent, numbering four thousand troops, under General Arthur MacArthur, left San Francisco in the transports *Ohio*, *Indiana*, *City of Para* and *Morgan City* on June 27th; being followed two days later by the transports *Valencia* and *Newport*, which conveyed General Mer-

American
Expedi-
tion to
the Phil-
ippines.

ritt and Batteries H and K, of the Third United States Artillery, and the Astor Independent Battery. The expedition arrived at Honolulu on July 8th, and sailed from there the next day, arriving at Cavité on July 26th. The fourth American contingent, under General Elwell Stephen Otis, started from San Francisco in the transport *City of Puebla* on July 15th and the transports *Pennsylvania* and *City of Rio Janeiro* a few days later; and a fifth contingent was in preparation for the same destination.

**German
Warships
at
Manila.**

The presence of German warships under Admiral von Diederichs in the harbor of Manila gave rise to disquieting rumors of possible interference. An incident was reported to have occurred on July 6th, to which some significance was attached. Emilio Aguinaldo, the Filipino insurgent chief, had sent an armed steamer to Subig Bay to take possession of La Isla Grande, which was garrisoned by a Spanish force, and the German steamer *Irene* intervened to prevent the proposed Filipino occupation of the islet; whereupon Admiral Dewey sent the *Raleigh* and the *Concord* to Subig Bay to take possession of the islet. The *Irene* quietly sailed away when the two American vessels appeared, and the islet was speedily taken by the Americans and handed over to the insurgents. The Spanish garrison of five hundred men were driven from the islet to the mainland of Luzon. The Americans occupied Cavité, while the Filipino insurgents had full possession of the country around Manila. Meanwhile Lieutenant E. W. Clarke, of General Anderson's staff, made a daring reconnaissance, in which he made a complete detour of Manila and obtained a thorough observation of the Spanish works.

**Capture
of Manila.**

The arrival of General MacArthur's contingent on July 31st gave General Merritt an army of almost eleven thousand men. That night about three thousand Spaniards attacked the American lines, but were repulsed with heavy loss, while the Americans lost only eleven killed and thirty-seven wounded. On August 13, 1898, the day after the peace protocol had been signed, but before the news of this event had reached the Philippines, the American land and naval forces under General Merritt and Admiral Dewey made a joint attack on the Spanish forts and intrenchments at Malate, on the south of Manila, and drove away the Spaniards; and at five o'clock in the evening of that day the Spanish Governor-General, Augustini, surrendered Manila and its Spanish garrison of seven thousand men to the American military and naval commanders. In this land and naval attack on and capture of Manila the Americans lost forty-six killed and about a hundred wounded. The Spanish loss was about two hundred killed and about four hundred wounded. Thus the last important battle of the Spanish-American War—like the last important battle of the War of 1812—was fought

after peace had been actually concluded between the two belligerent nations.

In the meantime the Great European Powers advised Spain to make peace on such terms as the United States demanded, and Prime Minister Sagasta was skillfully bringing the Spanish people around to favor peace. M. Cambon, the French Ambassador at Washington, presented credentials fully authorizing him to act at once with decision for peace for Spain on terms acceptable to the United States. The American terms of peace were made known to him on July 30th. These terms embraced the following conditions: The immediate evacuation of every Spanish dependency in the New World; the relinquishment of all Spanish claims to sovereignty in Cuba; the cession of Porto Rico and the other Spanish West India Islands, except Cuba, to the United States; the occupation of the city and harbor of Manila by the United States military and naval forces pending settlement, by peace commissioners of the two nations, of the future disposition and government of the Philippine Islands. On August 12, 1898, a protocol providing for peace between the United States and Spain, on the foregoing conditions, was signed at Washington by Secretary of State William Rufus Day, for the United States, and by M. Cambon, the French Ambassador, for Spain.

Thus ended the Spanish-American War, which had lasted three months, three weeks and three days, and which had cost the United States about one hundred and fifty million dollars, of which ninety-eight million dollars already had been paid. The total American loss in killed in battle did not amount to three hundred men, though several thousand died of sickness caused by typhoid fever and other diseases contracted in Cuba, resulting from negligence and stale beef.

On August 21, 1898, a Spanish soldier—Pedro Lopez de Castillo—on behalf of eleven thousand Spanish fellow-soldiers sent addresses to General Shafter and his troops, as follows:

“To Major-General Shafter, Commanding the American Army in Cuba:

“Sir: The Spanish soldiers who capitulated in this place on the sixteenth of July last, recognizing your high and just position, pray that through you all the courageous and noble soldiers under your command may receive our good wishes and farewell, which we send them on embarking for our beloved Spain. For this favor, which we have no doubt you will grant, you will gain the everlasting gratitude and consideration of eleven thousand Spanish soldiers, who are your most humble servants.

“Pedro Lopez de Castillo,

“Private of Infantry.

Peace Protocol.

Cost of the War.

Address of Spanish Soldiers to the American Soldiers.

“ Soldiers of the American Army :

“ We would not be fulfilling our duty as well-born men in whose breasts there live gratitude and courtesy should we embark for our beloved Spain without sending to you our most cordial and sincere good wishes and farewell. We fought you with ardor, with all our strength, endeavoring to gain the victory, but without the slightest rancor or hate towards the American nation. We have been vanquished by you (so our generals and chiefs judged in signing the capitulation), but our surrender and the bloody battle preceding it have left in our souls no place for resentment against the men who fought us nobly and valiantly. You fought and acted in compliance with the same call of duty as we, for we all represent the power of our respective states. You fought us as men face to face and with great courage, as before stated, a quality which we had not met with during the three years we have carried on this war against a people without religion, without morals, without conscience, and of doubtful origin, who could not confront the enemy, but hidden, shot their noble victims from ambush, and then immediately fled. This was the kind of warfare we had to sustain in this unfortunate land.

“ You have complied exactly with all the laws and usages of war as recognized by the armies of the most civilized nations of the world; have given honorable burial to the dead of the vanquished; have cured their wounded with great humanity; have respected and cared for your prisoners and their comfort; and, lastly, to us, whose condition was terrible, you have given freely of food, of your stock of medicines, and you have honored us with distinction and courtesy, for after the fighting the two armies mingled with the utmost harmony.

“ With the high sentiment of appreciation from us all, there remains but to express our farewell, and with the greatest sincerity we wish you all happiness and health in this land, which will no longer belong to our dear Spain, but will be yours, who have conquered it by force and watered it with your blood as your conscience called for, under the demand of civilization and humanity; but the descendants of the Kongo and of Guinea, mingled with the blood of unscrupulous Spaniards and of traitors and adventurers, these people are not able to exercise or enjoy their liberty, for they will find it a burden to comply with the laws which govern civilized communities.

“ From eleven thousand Spanish soldiers,

“ Pedro Lopez de Castillo,
“ Soldier of Infantry.

“ Santiago de Cuba, August 21, 1898.”

British
Consul
Ramsden.

A true friend of the Americans died in Jamaica while the Spanish-American War was still in progress, catching a deadly disease chiefly through his zeal in their behalf. This was Mr. Ramsden, for many years the British consul at Santiago de Cuba. A quarter of a century before—in 1873—when the Spanish authorities were shooting the crew of the American steamer *Virginianus*, he suddenly appeared after fifty-three of the crew had been shot, and, stepping up to the Spanish officer who had ordered the shooting, he said: “Now, if there is another man shot I will call in Her Majesty’s warships and blow Santiago de Cuba off the face of the earth.” He thus put an end to the shooting.

By the time hostilities had ceased yellow fever and other diseases were spreading havoc in the ranks of the American army in Cuba, and the leading commanders saw the necessity of recalling the army from the island without delay. The troops were speedily brought home to the United States in transports and were taken to Montauk, at the east end of Long Island, and other healthful resorts during the hot season; but thousands of them died in a short time. Thus most of the American mortality in this war was from disease and not from the casualties of battle.

One of the results of the Spanish-American War was the annexation of Hawaii to the United States, which was accomplished while hostilities were still in progress. The sentiment of the American people had undergone a wonderful change in this respect during this war. Ever since 1893 the so-called Republic of Hawaii had been vainly seeking annexation to the United States. But with the partial occupation of the Philippines and the impending acquisition of Porto Rico the American people looked more favorably upon the extension of American sovereignty beyond the American mainland. Accordingly, both Houses of Congress passed the resolution introduced by Representative Newlands, of Nevada, in favor of the annexation of Hawaii, and this resolution received the President’s signature on July 7, 1898; and the formal recognition of the transfer of Hawaii to the United States was made on August 12, 1898, the very day on which the peace protocol between the United States and Spain was signed. Congress afterwards adopted a Territorial form of government for the Hawaiian Islands, which were erected into the Territory of Hawaii, June 14, 1900; and President McKinley appointed the late Hawaiian President, Sanford Ballard Dole, Governor of the newly-established Territory.

At length peace commissioners on the part of the United States and Spain assembled in Paris for the negotiation of a definitive treaty of peace between the two nations. The American commissioners were ex-Secretary of State William Rufus Day, of Ohio; Whitelaw Reid, of New York, and United States Senators Cushman Kellogg Davis, of

Disease
in the
American
Army.

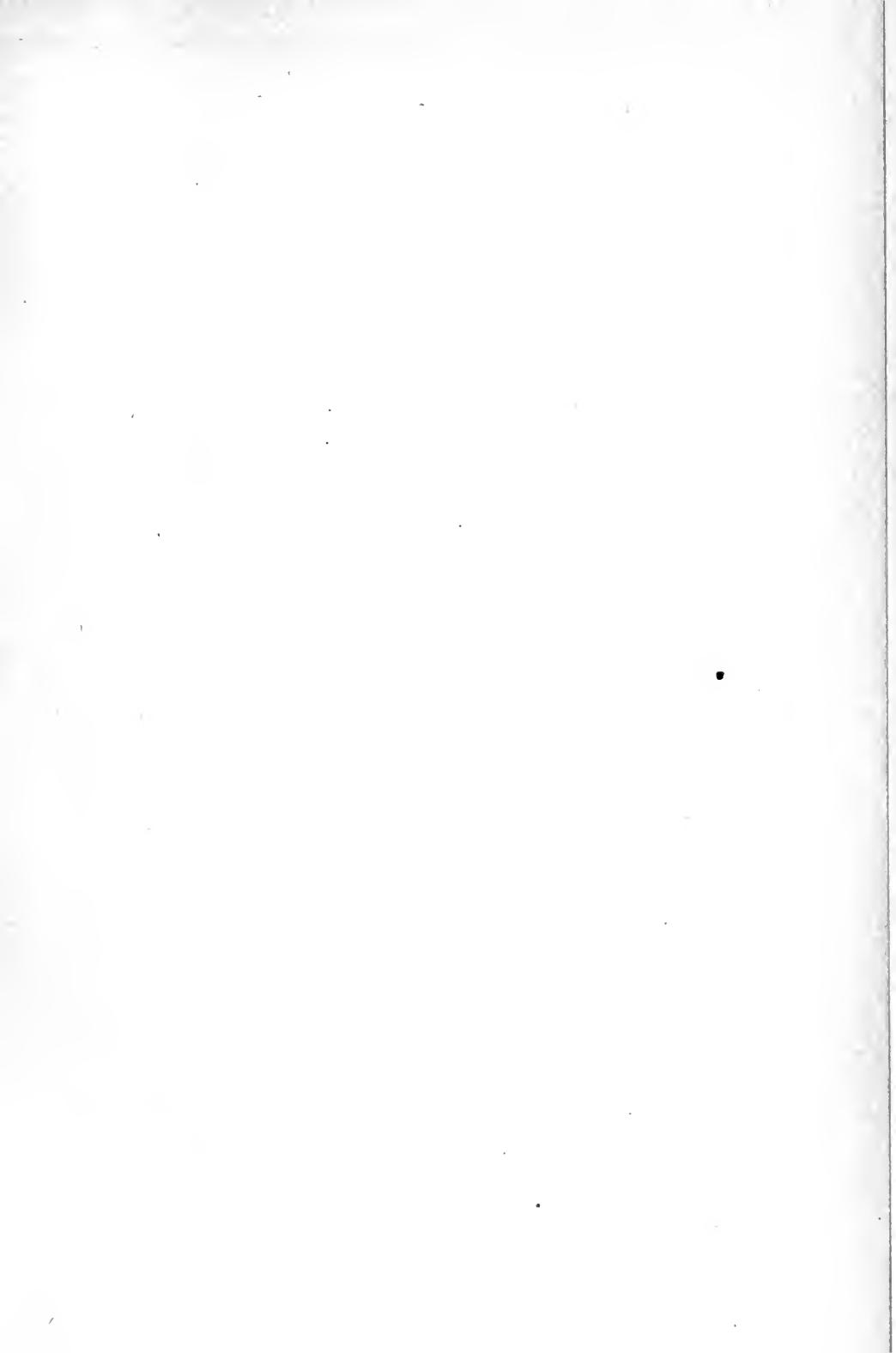
Annexa-
tion of
Hawaii.

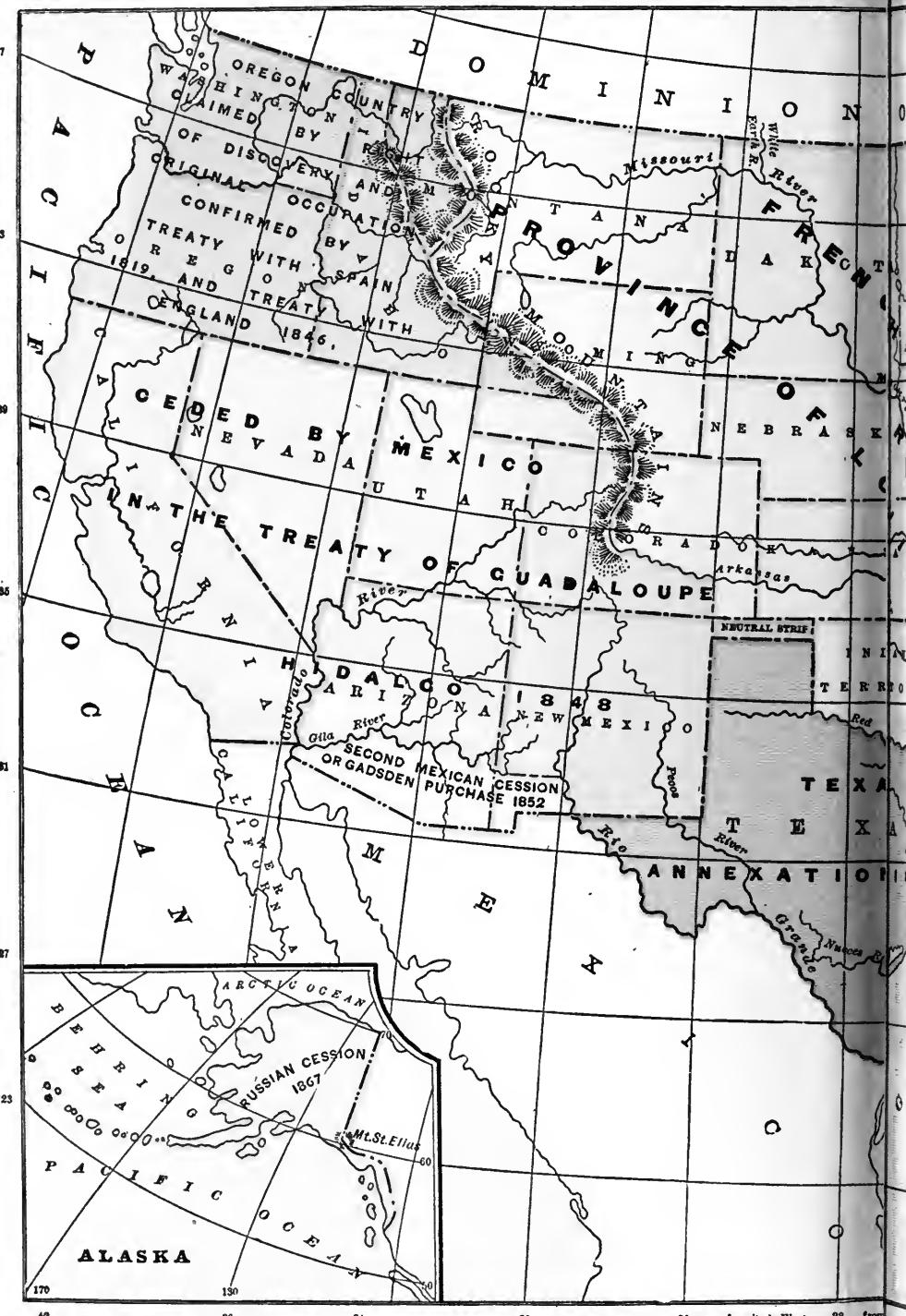
Definitive
Peace of
Paris.

Minnesota; William Pierce Frye, of Maine, and George Gray, of Delaware. The Spanish commissioners were Don Eugenio Montero Rios, President of the Spanish Senate; Don Buenaventura de Abarzuza, Spanish Senator and Cabinet Minister; Don José de Garnica, Deputy to the Spanish Cortes and Associate Justice of the Spanish Supreme Court; Don Wenceslao Ramirez de Villa-Urrutia, Spanish Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary to Belgium, and Don Rafael Cerero, General of Division in the Spanish army. After several weeks of negotiation, these American and Spanish peace commissioners signed a definitive treaty of peace on December 10, 1898, which provided that Spain should relinquish her title to Cuba and cede Porto Rico, the island of Guam, in the Ladrones, and the entire Philippine archipelago to the United States; the United States to pay Spain twenty million dollars for the Philippines. The treaty thus negotiated and signed was submitted to the governments of the two nations for ratification, but it encountered some opposition in both. In the United States special objections were made to the acquisition of the Philippines without the consent of the native inhabitants of the islands; many of whom, under the leadership of Emilio Aguinaldo, previously had rebelled against Spain and were now demanding complete national independence; but the general American sentiment was that the American control of the islands was necessary to prevent civil war, anarchy and foreign complications therein. Accordingly, on February 6, 1899, the treaty was ratified by the United States Senate by a vote of fifty-seven to twenty-seven. Spain likewise accepted the treaty, which was formally proclaimed April 11, 1899. The United States promptly paid the twenty million dollars to Spain, and ordinary diplomatic relations between the two nations were resumed. Thus the last vestige of Spain's once-powerful dominion in the New World disappeared forever.

Spanish
Retire-
ment
from
Cuba.

By the close of 1898 the Spanish evacuation of Cuba was complete, the American army of occupation already having arrived. New Year's Day, 1899, was signalized by the formal relinquishment of Cuba by Spain to the United States, in trust for the Cuban people. Amid imposing ceremonies at Havana, Captain-General Blanco and the other Spanish officials formally turned over the government of Cuba to the military authorities of the United States in that city, and soon took their departure for Spain. The Stars and Stripes were raised over Morro Castle and over the government building in Havana; and Major-General John Rutter Brooke was appointed Military Governor of Cuba by President McKinley, who appointed Military Governors for each of the five provinces of Cuba, Major-General Fitzhugh Lee being appointed Military Governor of the province of Havana, and Major-General William Ludlow being appointed Military Governor of







MAP SHOWING THE
TERRITORIAL GROWTH
OF THE UNITED STATES



the city of Havana, while Major-General Leonard Wood was appointed Military Governor of the province of Santiago. General Brooke was soon succeeded as Military Governor of the whole island of Cuba by General Wood, whose able administration of affairs in Santiago proved his qualification for such a station. In the meantime the remains of Columbus had been sent from Havana to Spain.

Early in October, 1898, a rising of Chippewa Indians occurred on the Minnesota reservation. The Indians there had many troubles with United States officials about timber cutting and illegal liquor sales. The officials attempted forcibly to remove the Chippewas from the lands which they had been occupying. The Indians very justly demanded compensation for the improvements of their existing holdings, and when this demand was refused the Chippewas were irritated exceedingly. When the United States marshal tried to arrest those Indians who had sold liquor unlawfully the Indians resisted, killing the deputy marshal. The United States troops were then called to the scene to assist in arresting the murderous Chippewas. General John Mosby Bacon, with about eighty soldiers of the Third United States Infantry, went to arrest the Indians, and was attacked by them near Walker, Minnesota, one officer, six privates and one Indian policeman being killed, and Colonel Sheehan being wounded, while thirty Indians were killed. Genral Bacon defeated the Indians in a second fight, whereupon they surrendered and quiet was restored. Like all other Indian wars, this war was wholly the white man's fault.

Chippewa
Indian
Rising in
Minnesota.

SECTION XI.—PHILIPPINE REVOLT AND RECENT EVENTS (SINCE A. D. 1898).

THE definitive treaty of peace between the United States and Spain, signed at Paris by the peace commissioners of the two nations, December 10, 1898, was transmitted to the United States Senate by President McKinley, January 4, 1899. After being read in executive session it was referred to the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations, which reported in favor of the treaty on January 11, 1899; but it was ratified only on February 6, 1899, after encountering great opposition from those Senators opposed to the treaty. The delay in the ratification of the treaty inspired a hope on the part of Emilio Aguinaldo, the Filipino leader, and his countrymen that the United States might be prevailed upon to acknowledge the independence of the Philippine Islands and recognize the Filipino Republic, of which Aguinaldo had been proclaimed President. A Filipino Congress had been assembled at Malolos, which had been made the Filipino capital, and

The
Filipino
Republic.

Aguinaldo had surrounded himself with a Cabinet composed of his ablest followers.

**Agoncillo's
Protest.**

The protest of Aguinaldo's diplomatic agent, Felipe Agoncillo, against the cession of the Philippine Islands by Spain to the United States, filed with the American and Spanish peace commissioners at Paris, December 12, 1898, two days after the signing of the peace treaty, gave a complete exposition of the reasons which justified the Filipinos in opposing the efforts of the United States to exercise sovereignty over the islands.

**President
Mc-
Kinley's
Procla-
mation.**

President McKinley sent instructions to General Elwell Stephen Otis, the American commander in the Philippines after the resignation and departure of General Wesley Merritt soon after the close of hostilities with Spain, to avoid a conflict with the natives of the islands; and on January 5, 1899, General Otis published the President's proclamation stating the reasons actuating the United States in assuming sovereignty over the Philippine Islands and offering to protect the Filipino people in their rights and liberties.

**United
States
Philip-
pine
Commiss-**

In accordance with his design of acting cautiously in regard to the Philippine Islands, President McKinley appointed a United States Philippine Commission to study the islands and make recommendations accordingly; the members of this commission being Admiral Dewey, General Otis, ex-United States Minister to China Charles Denby, Professor Dean Conant Worcester, of Michigan University, and Professor Jacob Gould Schurman, of Cornell University. After a careful study of the situation and after several ineffectual efforts to make known to the Filipino people the purposes and views of the United States government, the commission returned and submitted its report to the President on November 2, 1899.

**Agui-
naldo's
Procla-
mation
and
Philip-
pine
Revolt.**

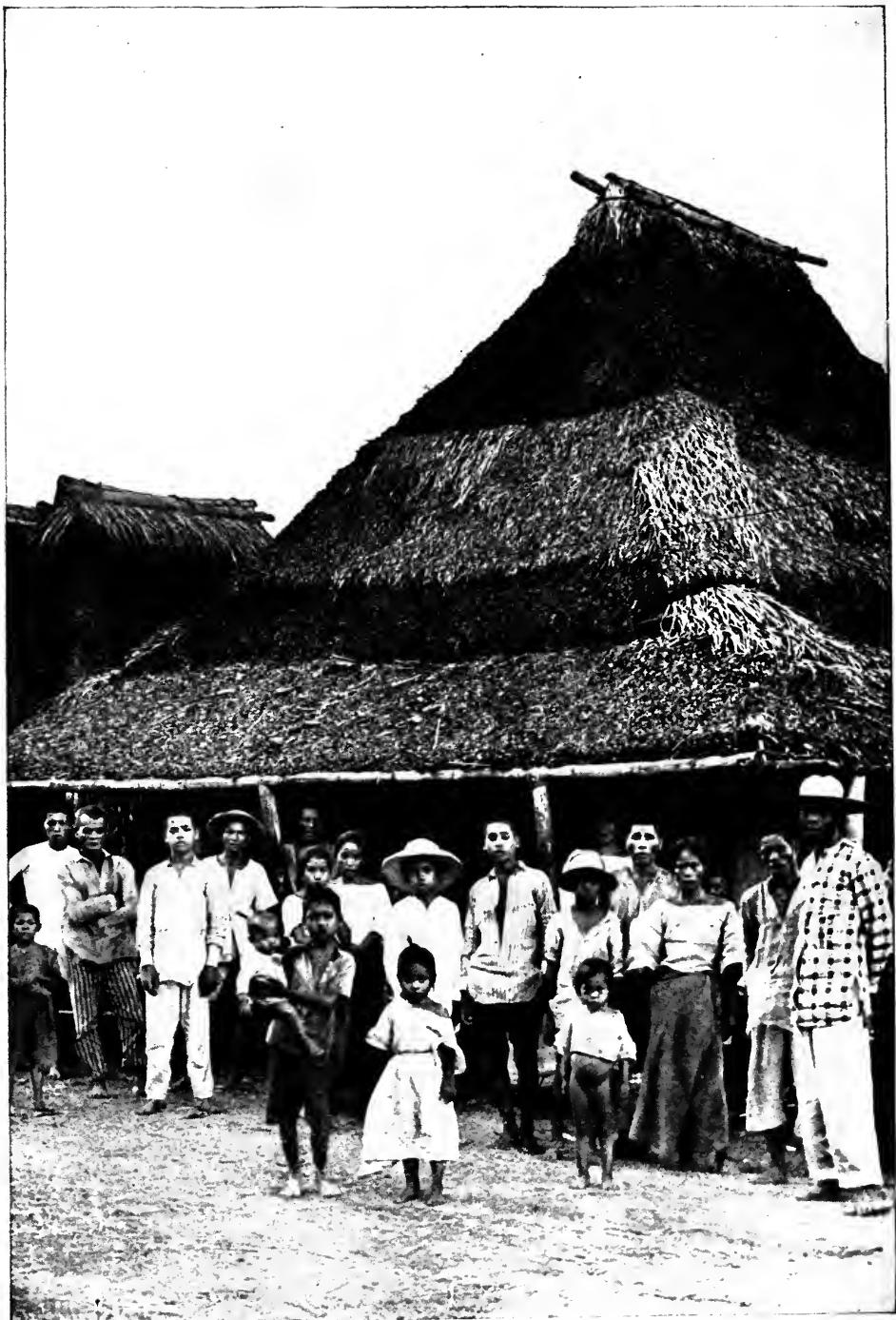
In spite of the cautious policy of General Otis in pursuance of President McKinley's instructions, Aguinaldo issued a proclamation to his followers on February 4, 1899, ordering the beginning of hostilities with the Americans; and accordingly the Filipinos arose in rebellion against the Americans on the same day for the purpose of securing their independence under a government of their own. Aguinaldo's proclamation declaring war against the Americans was as follows:

“ I order and command:

“ 1. That peace and friendly relations with the Americans be broken, and that the latter be treated as enemies, within the limits prescribed by the laws of war.

“ 2. That the Americans captured be held as prisoners of war.

“ 3. That this proclamation be communicated to the consuls, and that Congress order and accord a suspension of the constitutional guarantee, resulting from the declaration of war.”



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BEFORE A NATIVE STORE
PARAÑAQUE, ISLAND OF LUZON, PHILIPPINES

The first shot in this rebellion was fired in the evening of the same day (February 4, 1899). General Otis had issued a stringent order forbidding any Filipino to pass the American lines after nightfall. That night a Filipino soldier, followed by several of his fellow-soldiers, came from the Filipino lines and approached the American pickets, refusing to halt after repeated orders from Private Grayson, of the Nebraska regiment. Grayson fired and killed the Filipino soldier, whereupon the latter's companions returned the fire, the Nebraskans promptly responding. This was the signal for firing all along the line from Tondo to Malate. That night the American troops acted on the defensive; but during the three following days they assumed the offensive, driving the Filipinos from their intrenchments and obtaining possession of all the adjacent suburbs of Manila, including the water works at Sautolan. In these three days' battles about thirteen thousand American troops were fighting thirty thousand Filipinos, the American loss being fifty-nine killed and thirty-three wounded, while the Filipinos lost about two thousand killed, three thousand five hundred wounded and five thousand prisoners. The immediate result of the battle was to hasten the ratification of the peace treaty between the United States and Spain by the United States Senate; and Agoncillo, the Filipino commissioner in the United States, who was suspected of having sent information to Aguinaldo which called forth his proclamation, quickly departed from Washington, fleeing to Canada.

Three
Days'
Battle at
Manila.

On the night of February 22, 1899, the Filipinos fired Manila; a great part of which was reduced to ashes before the Americans were able to extinguish the flames. The defeated Filipinos retreated to Caloocan, where they were defeated again with great loss; after which they fled to Malabon, where they were also defeated. Thenceforth the struggle was practically a running flight between the retreating Filipinos and the pursuing Americans.

Agon-
cillo's
Flight to
Canada.

Burning
of Manila.

After the ratification of the Spanish-American peace treaty by the United States Senate, February 6, 1899, an American ultimatum was sent to the Filipino insurgents demanding their evacuation of Iloilo before the evening of February 11, 1899, threatening bombardment in case of refusal. As the Filipinos did not comply with the demand for the evacuation of Iloilo, the town was bombarded at the prescribed time. After firing the native portion of the city the Filipino insurgents evacuated Iloilo, whereupon the American troops occupied the city.

Bombard-
ment and
Capture
of Iloilo.

Late in February, 1899, the Americans occupied the islands of Cebu, Negros and Panay. At Admiral Dewey's request the *Oregon* was sent to reinforce his fleet, while reinforcements were likewise sent to the American army in the Philippines; and early in March, 1899, General

The
Oregon
and
American
Rein-
force-
ments.

Otis had about twenty thousand troops under his command. The *Oregon* arrived at Manila, March 18, 1899

American
Victories
and
Capture
of
Malolos.

Early in March, 1899, the American force under General Arthur MacArthur began its advance upon Malolos, the Filipino capital; and its progress was signalized by a succession of victories. The Filipinos made a decided stand at the Marilao river, about a mile from Malolos, being intrenched strongly on the opposite bank of the river. As General MacArthur's troops approached Malolos, Colonel Frederick Funston and twenty other troops of the Twentieth Kansas regiment plunged into the river and swam across. These men put their muskets on logs and pushed the logs before them. On the other side of the stream the little band charged and captured eighty Filipinos, the main body of the insurgents retreating to Malolos, where they made a determined stand. The Americans under General Lloyd Wheaton captured Malolos, March 31, 1899; Aguinaldo and some of his followers escaping, after firing the government buildings. The Americans captured one and a half million dollars worth of subsistence in the city.

Battle
and
Capture
of
Calumpit.

After the capture of Malolos, Aguinaldo established his capital at San Fernando, and General MacArthur began a march against that city April 25, 1899. A battle was fought at Calumpit, where the Filipinos were intrenched, the Americans gaining a brilliant victory, and taking possession of the city on April 27, 1899. Among the Americans killed at Calumpit were Colonel Stotsenberg and Lieutenant Sisson, of the Nebraska regiment. A brilliant feat at the capture of Calumpit was the swimming of the Rio Grande river by Colonel Frederick Funston, of the Twentieth Kansas regiment, in the face of the insurgents' fire. The bridge over the Rio Grande had been wrecked, and for three miles the opposite bank of the river was occupied by Filipino soldiers behind strong intrenchments. Funston called for volunteers to swim the stream and carry a rope to the opposite side. From the many volunteers who offered themselves he selected two, and he and these two volunteers swam across the river, in the face of a galling fire from the Filipinos, and fastened the rope to a tree, while the other end of the rope was fastened on the bank occupied by the American troops. By means of this rope the Kansas and other troops were enabled to cross the stream on a raft, and, by an enfilading fire, compel the Filipinos to retire from their outer intrenchments. Then the whole of the Twentieth Kansas regiment and the First Montana regiment were able to cross on the broken bridge and face the Filipinos in a stubborn fight, driving them from their intrenchments and thus capturing Calumpit.

Capture
of San
Fernando.

General MacArthur's brigade then marched against San Tomas and San Fernando, General Wheaton's brigade making a parallel advance, and the insurgents resisting the American advance at every point.

General
Lawton's
Victories.

General MacArthur captured San Fernando, May 5, 1899. General Henry Wade Lawton led an expedition to San Isidro on April 22d and returned to General MacArthur's lines on May 24th, after marching one hundred and twenty miles, taking twenty-eight towns and destroying three hundred thousand bushels of rice, having lost only six men killed and thirty-five wounded. On June 10th General Lawton led an expedition from San Pedro Macati, on the Pasig river, to drive the Filipinos under General Pio del Pilar from their positions on the east side of Manila Bay; and severe fighting occurred on June 10, 11, 12 and 13, 1899. The battle of the 13th, fought at Zapate bridge, near Bacoor, was said to have been the bloodiest and most decisive battle of the war, the Filipinos numbering about four thousand and losing about one-third of their force in killed, wounded and prisoners. The battle lasted from sunrise to sunset, the American navy taking part therein. Marines from the *Monadnock* and the *Helena* were landed; and the *Princeton* and the *Callao*, with two gunboats, shelled the Filipino intrenchments. The Filipinos retreated to Imus, abandoning the whole coast region. In these four days' battles the Americans lost only ten killed and forty wounded. The insurgents made another stand at Imus, from which the Americans drove them on June 15, 1899. General Wheaton then marched to Perez daz Marinas, about twelve miles southward, where he encountered the Filipinos, driving them to the hills beyond. General Robert Henry Hall captured Calamba, an important strategic point, June 16, 1899. These energetic operations drove the insurgents from the province of Cavité.

As the rainy season approached in Luzon the fighting became gradually desultory, the insurgents mainly resorting to guerrilla warfare; and, although they still showed considerable vigor at times, it was evident that their power was broken. On June 8, 1899, General Otis cabled for thirty thousand more troops, and two weeks later (June 22, 1899) the President decided to call for more volunteers for the Philippines. Thereafter at various times during the last half of 1899 reinforcements were sent from the United States to the islands. On July 5, 1899, the Secretary of War authorized the enlistment of ten regiments for service in the Philippines; and a week later General Joseph Wheeler sailed from the United States for the islands. During the wet season military operations were partially suspended; but General MacArthur captured Angeles, August 16, 1899, and during the same month there were engagements at Laguna de Bay and San Fernando.

In the meantime General Otis sent General John Coalter Bates to the Sulu Islands, with authority to make a treaty with the Sultan of those islands, a Mohammedan monarch. General Bates was successful

Decline
of the
Revolt.

American
Reinforce-
ments.

Treaty
with the
Sultan
of Sulu.

in his mission. He met the Sulu Sultan, August 21, 1899, and, after some days' discussion with him, concluded a treaty with him by which the Sultan acknowledged the sovereignty of the United States, agreed to fly the American flag above his own and to fly it when abroad, and gave the Americans the right to occupy convenient places for military purposes. The Sultan was given a present of ten thousand dollars, and was promised a pension of four thousand six hundred dollars a year and guaranteed non-interference with his monarchical government, with the Mohammedan religion, with slavery and with polygamy in his dominions. The Sultan himself had twelve wives, and he and his subjects were all Mohammedans. Thus the United States had a Mohammedan monarch as its vassal, and in this distant possession the Stars and Stripes floated over four institutions which did not exist in the home territory of the United States—Mohammedanism, monarchy, slavery and polygamy; the first two of which never existed in the United States, and the last two being suppressed within the last half century. There was a clause in the treaty which provided that slaves could purchase their freedom for twenty dollars; but, as they had to work all their lives without a cent of pay, they never would be able to earn any money to buy themselves free. The toleration of monarchy, slavery and polygamy aroused severe criticism in the United States, as there was just then a crusade against a polygamous Congressman from Utah, and as the laws of the United States forbade polygamy anywhere within its territory, while the Constitution of the United States did not tolerate monarchy or slavery, the last-named institution being excluded by the Thirteenth Constitutional Amendment, which reads thus: Section I.—Neither slavery nor involuntary servitude, except as a punishment for crime, whereof the party shall have been duly convicted, shall exist within the United States *or any place subject to their jurisdiction*. Section II.—Congress shall have power to enforce this article by appropriate legislation. Even if the Philippines are not a part of the United States, but only a possession of the United States, and even if the Constitution does not follow the flag, the Philippines being under American jurisdiction, slavery is as much a violation of the Thirteenth Constitutional Amendment in the Philippines as it would be in Virginia or Louisiana. The two great parties of the Nation seemed to have assumed contradictory attitudes on the slavery clause in the Sulu treaty; the Democrats, the pro-slavery party of former days, now denouncing the treaty and thus taking anti-slavery ground; while the Republicans, the party which had overthrown slavery in the United States, defended the treaty on grounds of expediency, thus practically taking a pro-slavery stand. Such were the party inconsistencies produced by the course of events.

General Wheaton severely defeated the Filipinos at San Jacinto, November 14, 1899, seventy-seven of the insurgents being left dead on the field. Among the Americans killed in this engagement was Major John A. Logan, son of the famous Illinois general and statesman of the same name. Major Logan was shot while leading his battalion through a well-nigh impenetrable region against the insurgent intrenchments east of Dagupan. The battle of San Jacinto put an end to most of the organized resistance of the Filipinos, as the battle of San Jacinto in Texas in 1836 separated Texas from Mexico.

Battle of
San
Jacinto.

The Americans suffered a great loss in the morning of December 19, 1899, when General Henry Wade Lawton was shot and killed by a Filipino sharpshooter while standing in front of his troops while leading an attack on the insurgents under Geronimo at San Mateo, north-west of Manila. He was walking along the firing line, within three hundred yards of a small sharpshooters' trench, conspicuous in the big white helmet he always wore and a light yellow raincoat. He was also easily distinguished because of his commanding stature. The sharpshooters directed several close shots, which clipped the grass near. His staff officers called his attention to the danger to which he was exposing himself, but he merely laughed, with his usual contempt for bullets. Suddenly he exclaimed: "I am shot!" Clenching his hands in a desperate effort to stand erect, he fell into the arms of a staff officer. Orderlies rushed across the field for surgeons, who dashed up instantly, but their efforts were unavailing. The body was taken to a clump of bushes and laid upon a stretcher, the familiar white helmet covering the face of the dead general. His death came as a great shock. His troops were stricken with sorrow at his death, and many of them shed bitter tears. His remains were buried temporarily at Manila, and afterwards were conveyed to the United States for permanent interment. The first news of his death reached the White House at Washington while a Cabinet meeting was in session. Instructions had been received from the President just the previous night to prepare General Lawton's commission as a brigadier-general in the regular army to fill one of the existing vacancies, and the Adjutant-General's clerks were engaged on the commission when the sad intelligence of his death was received at the National capital. He had been hitherto wonderfully fortunate in battle during a period of forty years, having been in many conflicts in the Civil War; in hundreds of engagements with the Indians for more than thirty years; in the battle before Santiago de Cuba in the war with Spain, and in many actions of the Philippine war. He was noted especially as an Indian fighter; and his pursuit and capture of Geronimo, the notorious Apache warrior, had been regarded as one of the most remarkable campaigns ever under-

Death of
General
Lawton.

taken with a small force in command. General Miles had selected General Lawton to lead the chase after Geronimo, upon whose trail Lawton hung like a bloodhound ceaselessly, day and night, through every vicissitude of weather and personal suffering, for three months, until the savage warrior was captured; and for the first time in a quarter of a century south-eastern Arizona was free from the depredations of the fierce Apaches. Thus the brave commander who conquered Geronimo, the Apache, came to an untimely end in a conflict with Geronimo, the Filipino.

**Progress
of Pacifi-
cation.**

By the end of 1899 the island of Luzon was cleared of all important Filipino bands, and nearly all of the ablest insurgent leaders, except Aguinaldo himself, who was then in concealment somewhere in the island, had become prisoners to the Americans. There were at this time over sixty thousand United States troops in Luzon.

**Commis-
sion's
Report.**

On February 2, 1900, President McKinley transmitted the report of the United States Philippine Commission to Congress. The Commission, without qualification, recommended a government for the Philippines resembling that of a Territory of the United States, with a Governor appointed by the President; declaring that the United States could not withdraw from the islands, as that would expose the islands to anarchy and civil war, the natives being wholly unprepared for national independence and self-government. The Commission suggested that as the Sulu archipelago called for special arrangements with the Sultan of those islands they did not require any consideration in this report.

**Whe-
aton's and
Schwan's
Suc-
cesses.**

On New Year's Day, 1900, the American columns under Generals Wheaton and Schwan attacked the insurgent positions on the shores of Laguna de Bay; and, after a week's fighting, the insurgents were driven from their positions at Binan, Carmona, Silang, Indang, Imus and Bacoor, which were occupied by the Americans. Colonel Bullard captured the strong post of Santo Tomas, south of Calamba, January 9, 1900, while in the meantime an insurgent force was dispersed at Mount Arayat, January 5, 1900; and by the middle of January the whole province of Cavité was occupied by General Wheaton's command, while the province of Batangas was in the possession of General Schwan.

**Con-
tinued
Skir-
mishing.**

Skirmishes continued daily throughout Luzon, and an American pack-train was ambushed by insurgents between Santo Tomas and San Pablo, in the middle of January, 1900. Sharp fights occurred in the island of Cebu, and Colonel Byrne captured an insurgent camp in the island of Negros, while the islands of Samar, Leyte and Panay were still held by the insurgents. Early in February, 1900, the Americans took formal possession of Subulu and Cagayan islands, of the Sulu

group, and of the Babuyan and Batanes groups of islands, to the north of Luzon.

By the close of February, 1900, the President appointed a new United States Philippine Commission, consisting of Judge William Howard Taft, of Ohio, as President; Professor Dean Conant Worcester, of the University of Michigan, a member of the old Commission; General Luke E. Wright, of Tennessee; Henry Clay Ide, of Vermont, and Bernard Moses, of the University of California. The new Commission arrived at Manila early in June and soon succeeded the old Commission in office.

The war everywhere throughout the archipelago now had assumed a complete guerrilla character, as the insurgents had broken up into small bands, which often ambushed the Americans and their Filipino adherents. The insurgent propaganda was active everywhere and skirmishes were of daily occurrence. Small bands of insurgents surrendered to the Americans at various points, as at Tarlac to Colonel Emerson H. Liscum, and at several other points. The American troops under General Frederick Funston and General Frederick Dent Grant, eldest son of General Ulysses Simpson Grant, ceaselessly pursued the insurgents in Luzon. By order of the Secretary of War the Philippines were divided into four military departments. Two Filipino leaders, Morales and Gonzales, were hanged as outlaws at Bayambang, March 30, 1900.

The insurgent General Montenegro surrendered to Colonel Smith in the province of Pangasinan in the middle of April, 1900. The insurgents were repulsed in attacks on San José, in the province of Batangas; on Santa Cruz, on the lake, and at Cagayan, in the island of Mindanao. Severe conflicts occurred at other points, and General Pio del Pilar's band was very active. American detachments were ambushed and massacred at various points in Luzon, Samar and other islands. General Pantaleon Garcia, a prominent Filipino leader, was captured at Jaen, near San Isidro, May 6, 1900.

On June 21, 1900, General Arthur MacArthur, the Military Governor of the Philippine Islands, issued a proclamation of amnesty to all insurgents who would lay down their arms and submit to American authority. On the same day prominent Filipino leaders at Manila formulated the conditions upon which the natives of the islands might accept American sovereignty and enter into amicable relations with the United States, as follows: Amnesty; the restoration of confiscated property by the Americans; employment of the insurgent generals in the militia and navy when peace is established; Filipino revenues to succor needy Filipinos; guarantee of personal rights to Filipinos; local civil governments; expulsion of the friars. General MacArthur as-

New
Philip-
pine
Commis-
sion.

Guerrilla
Warfare.

Insurgent
Attacks.

Amnesty
Pro-
claimed.

Filipino
Peace
Terms.

sured these Filipino leaders that all the rights guaranteed by the United States Constitution, except the right to bear arms and the right of jury trials, would be granted to the Filipino people.

**Liberation
of
Filipino
Leaders.**

On June 27, 1900, nine insurgent leaders who had been held as prisoners of war were liberated upon taking the oath of allegiance to the United States government. Among these were Generals Pio del Pilar, Concepcion and Alvarez. Paterno having published in one of the nativist journals an article ostensibly favoring an American protectorate, but really advocating Filipino independence, his parole was recalled, and a meeting which he had summoned was forbidden to be held. As he afterward took the oath of allegiance, he was released. At the same time General MacArthur outlined the plan of civil government intended by the United States to be given the Filipinos, embracing amnesty, guarantee of individual rights, religious liberty, return of confiscated property, eligibility of former insurgent leaders to positions in the native militia, Filipino funds for needy Filipinos, but no allowance of claims for property destroyed.

**General
Mac-
Arthur's
Promises.**

**Am-
bushes
and Re-
prisals.**

The daily skirmishing in the various islands continued, with ambushes and massacres of Americans, and bloody retaliation by the American troops. Bloody conflicts occurred in the islands of Luzon, Cebu, Panay, Leyte, Bohol and Samar. In the latter island the insurgents under General Lukban were harassing garrisons and shooting into towns at night and ambushing small parties. The Americans took signal vengeance at Oroquieta, in the island of Mindanao, for the murder of an American soldier, July 26, 1900.

**Local
Self-
Govern-
ment.**

**Commis-
sion's
Powers.**

At Vigan, on the north-western coast of Luzon, late in July, local self-government was established under the terms of the Philippine Commission; and the native Alcalde, or Mayor, saluted President McKinley with these words: President, Washington: Alcalde and municipal council, Vigan, installed under General Young's supervision, salute you, and tender firm allegiance. Rivero, Alcalde. The Philippine Commission was vested with legislative powers for the enactment of laws for the government of the islands, and the military was at all times subject to the orders of the Military Governor, General MacArthur.

**Insurgent
Plot.**

In August, 1900, facts came to light regarding an insurgent plot to capture Manila in the previous January, and the instructions of Aguinaldo to guerrillas on the same occasion, the document being dated at Malolos, January 9, 1899.

**Punitive
Expedi-
tions.**

Insurgent activity continued; and many amigos, or pacified Filipinos, were assassinated by the rebels. An American detachment under Captain Devereux Shields having been captured by the insurgents in the island of Marinduque, expeditions under Generals Anderson and

Hare were sent to that island to chastise the insurgents; and the object of these expeditions was accomplished successfully.

At Oroquieta, in the island of Mindanao, the insurgents under General Alvarez had beaten the Americans; but finally General Alvarez was captured by an American detachment under Captain Eliot, October 17, 1900. Conflicts also took place in Bohol and Panay islands about the same time. On Sunday, December 2, 1900, about twenty-two hundred natives of the province of Ilocos Sur, nearly all of them insurgents, took the oath of allegiance to the United States government in the parish church of Santa Maria.

On January 10, 1901, Senator Teller, of Colorado, presented a Filipino petition for independence in the United States Senate, in which the petitioners stated their reasons at great length why the islands should be granted full national independence. On December 23, 1900, a Filipino Federal party was formed on the basis of Filipino home rule under the sovereignty of the United States. A Women's Peace League was formed at Manila, February 9, 1901, by Filipino and American women, who united in saluting President McKinley and asked his coöperation in bringing about peace.

Sixto Lopez, a Filipino, in a letter to Robert Treat Paine, President of the American Peace Society, declared that his countrymen never would accept American sovereignty as that word is generally understood, and whether they would accept American suzerainty depended upon the interpretation of that word.

Civil governments were established in a number of provinces in Luzon, in which the administration was lodged in native presidents chosen by the people, under the supervision and control of the American military commanders.

A number of skirmishes occurred in the islands of Luzon, Cebu and Panay during the months of December, 1900, and January, 1901; the operations in Luzon being under the conduct of Generals Wheaton and Frederick Dent Grant. In Luzon and Panay many insurgents surrendered to the American military authorities. American merchants in Manila aided the insurgents with supplies, and two of them were arrested on this charge. George T. Rice, an American editor, was banished for aiding the insurgents and sent on board a vessel for California; being also accused of libeling the port officials of Manila. Many leading Filipinos were arrested and imprisoned or exiled to the island of Guam. The skirmishing in Luzon, Marinduque and the Visayan Islands continued in March.

Finally, on March 23, 1901, Aguinaldo was captured by a trick on the part of General Frederick Funston, at Palanan, in the province of Isabela, in Luzon; the capture being effected by a few American officers

**Capture
of
Alvarez.**

**Filipino
Petition.**

**Federal
Party.**

**Women's
Peace
League.**

**Sixto
Lopez.**

**Civil
Rule.**

**Con-
tinued
Skir-
mishing.**

**Capture
of
Aguinaldo.**

and a band of friendly native scouts, the Filipino chief being led to believe that a band of insurgents were coming to meet him. On April 2, 1901, he took the oath of allegiance to the United States; and on the 19th he issued a manifesto to his countrymen advising them to submit.

Punish-
ment of
Filipinos.

The work of pacification throughout the archipelago was proceeding daily through the constant surrender of insurgent bands, which was accelerated by the capture of Aguinaldo. Lucino Almeida, a leading Filipino who affected loyalty to the United States while all the time plotting with the insurgents, was tried by a military tribunal and sentenced to twenty-years' hard labor and to pay a fine of twenty thousand pesos, which penalties afterward were commuted to deportation to Guam. Catalino Landayan, another leading Filipino who pretended loyalty to the Americans while aiding the insurgents, was also deported to Guam. A number of other Filipino leaders were deported to Guam, among whom were Artemio Ricarte, Pio del Pilar, Maximo Hizon, Mariano Linnera and Francisco de los Santos, besides many members of the Katipunan Society who had taken the oath of allegiance simply for the purpose of promoting the insurgent cause in the province of Ilocos Norte. Members of another secret society were proven to have murdered many natives who favored American rule, usually burning their victims alive.

General
Civil
Govern-
ment.

The work of pacification had progressed so far that on June 21, 1901, President McKinley issued an order for the establishment of civil government in the Philippines; making William Howard Taft, hitherto President of the Philippine Commission, Civil Governor of the islands, investing him with the powers hitherto exercised by the Military Governor, and empowering him to appoint the civil officers previously appointed by the Military Governor or the Commission, with the advice and consent of the Commission. The Military Governor was relieved of the civil duties now conferred on the Civil Governor, but the Military Governor still exercised authority in the districts in which insurrection or lawlessness still prevailed. The order went into effect July 4, 1901, when Governor Taft was installed in office as the first Civil Governor of the Philippines under American rule. On the same day General Adna Romanza Chaffee succeeded General Arthur MacArthur as Military Governor of the islands. The Philippine Commission established a Philippine Supreme Court, consisting of Americans and Filipinos, presided over by Chief Justice Cayetano Arellano.

Bellar-
mino's
Surren-
der.

On July 4, 1901, the insurgent leader Bellarmino surrendered with his band to the Americans at Legaspi, on Albay Bay. After a three months' trial, the islands of Cebu and Bohol, and the province of Batangas, in Luzon, were deprived of civil government and returned to

military rule, because of the disorder prevailing in those quarters; the Philippine Commission giving orders to that effect, July 18, 1901.

[Return to Military Rule.](#)

At the first meeting of the legislative chamber, July 26, 1901, Luke E. Wright, of the Philippine Commission, in speaking of the charter of Manila, said that under it Manila's situation would be much like that of Washington, "the best governed city in the world." But several members of the Manila Chamber of Commerce strongly condemned the charter, saying that it was inconsistent with the principles of the freest government on earth to deny the right of suffrage to the people of the Philippine capital while granting it to small municipalities. They declared that the proposed system of government for Manila was far less liberal than that offered by the Spanish authorities, which made the city officials elective.

[Charter of Manila.](#)

General MacArthur's annual report to the Secretary of War, August 8, 1901, dwelt on the necessity of retaining the islands and the prospects of early pacification, expressing his opinion that the natives eventually would become attached to American rule. The insurrection still lingered. On July 16, 1901, Miquel Malvar, who had been recognized by the Filipino Junta at Hong Kong as Aguinaldo's successor, issued a proclamation giving assurances to his countrymen of the continuation of active warfare and expressing confident hope of final success in the struggle for Filipino independence. Malvar's proclamation accused the Americans of all manner of atrocities. Malvar outlawed General Cailles and threatened him with death for treason to the Filipino cause.

[General MacArthur's Report.](#)

In the islands of Jolo, or Sulu, the Sultan and some of his chiefs were engaged in civil war among themselves and had many bloody conflicts with much loss of life. Insurgents in the island of Mindoro were led by an American deserter named Howard, who finally was captured by an American cavalry detachment under Lieutenant Hazzard, assisted by a band of native scouts. The insurgent Colonel Martin Cabrera was captured near Taal, in Batangas province, about the middle of August, 1901, by Lieutenant Walter S. Grant, at the head of an American cavalry detachment and native scouts. There were daily skirmishes in Luzon and other islands; and, to avenge the massacre of an American detachment, the Americans burned the town of Balangiga, in the island of Samar.

[Civil War in Sulu.](#)

In January, 1902, it became known that many American soldiers already had deserted to the Filipinos and fought in their ranks. There were over fifty with the insurgent leader, Lukban, in the island of Samar, and they would not allow the chief to surrender. When the Filipino peace commission landed at Catabalogan, the principal port of Samar, the rebels fired on the town with heavy artillery.

[Capture of Insurgent Leaders.](#)

[American Deserters.](#)

American officers and troops declared that they distinctly heard the voices of American deserters among the rebels. Some of these American deserters issued the following remarkable proclamation to the American army:

Their
Procla-
mation.

"Dear Fellow Countrymen: After many months among the Filipino people, studying their customs and characters, we, the undersigned, have come to the conclusion that the time has arrived for us to break the silence and let you know the real truth, so that you will see the folly of the continuation of fighting these people, who are defending their country against the cruel American invasion in the same manner in which our forefathers did against England in those glorious days of our grand and noble liberator, General George Washington."

Progress
of Pacifi-
cation.

In January, 1902, the prospects for the pacification of the whole Philippine archipelago were very promising, as the insurgents everywhere were broken up into small bands, and everywhere they were fleeing for refuge, or were surrendering, or were captured or killed. American expeditions under Colonels Wint and Wells destroyed barracks and hamlets with rations enough to keep twenty thousand Filipinos six months, near Loboo, in Batangas province. A number of insurgent officers surrendered to Generals Bell and Anderson in Batangas province in January, 1902. The native governors and presidentes were coöperating with the American authorities in suppressing the insurgents and the ladrones. The ladrones, or robbers, were very troublesome in many localities of the islands. Small bands of ladrones made raids on towns, and the native constabulary were kept busy in suppressing them.

Governor
Taft's
State-
ment.

Governor-General Taft appeared before a committee of the United States Senate at Washington on March 6, 1902, and then and there gave a statement of conditions in the Philippines, assuring the committee that the insurrection was nearing its end. He did not present the report of Major Cornelius Gardner, Civil Governor of Tayabas province, dated December 16, 1901, which condemned the conduct of the American troops in many localities, accusing them of estranging them from friendship for American rule because of cruelty, oppression and disorderly behavior, concluding his report in the following words:

Major
Gar-
dener's
Report.

"Having been stationed six years on the Rio Grande, I am well acquainted with the natives of the State of Tamaulipas, Mexico; and while stationed in the province of Santa Clara, Cuba, I visited every town in that province, and was able to observe the intelligence and education there. I believe that the people of Tayabas province are in every way superior in education, intelligence, morals and civilization to the people of Tamaulipas or Santa Clara. As an officer of the army,

I regret that my duty as Civil Governor of this province impels me to state the attitude of the majority of my fellow-officers toward civil government in these islands and its effect upon the people; but I feel that the interests of the government involved and the future of these people, for whose welfare we are responsible, are of such vast importance that I ought to report things as I see and know them, in order that my civil superiors may be able intelligently to order what the situation demands."

Charges of cruelty against American military officers in torturing Filipinos by administering what was known as the "water cure" aroused indignation in the United States, and the government ordered an investigation, which resulted in implicating several prominent American army officers, who accordingly were tried by court martial, but were acquitted after exhaustive trials.

There were other charges of cruelty against American army officers, who also were tried by court-martial. Thus Major Littleton W. T. Waller was tried for causing a number of Filipino prisoners to be shot on charges of treachery and cruelty to American soldiers; but, after a long trial, Major Waller was acquitted by the court-martial, April 13, 1902. In the trial of Major Waller the claim was made that he acted under the orders of his superior commander, General Jacob Hurd Smith. That caused President Roosevelt to order a court-martial for the trial of General Smith, who was accused of giving orders to reduce the island of Samar to "a howling wilderness," to kill and burn, to shoot every male native of Samar over ten years of age capable of bearing arms. The trial ended May 3, 1902, in the acquittal of General Smith, though General Chaffee disapproved of the verdict. President Roosevelt also ordered Major Edwin F. Glenn to be tried by court-martial, but the trial of that officer also ended in acquittal.

On April 16, 1902, the insurgent General Malvar surrendered to General James Franklin Bell at Lipa, Batangas province, thus causing the submission of the entire insurgent forces in the provinces of Batangas and Laguna to the United States authorities, and presaging the end of the insurrection, which occurred a few months later.

Ladrones continued active in Luzon, Leyte and other islands, committing many robberies and murders, both upon friendly natives and upon American troops; and the native constabulary found difficulty in coping with them and suppressing them, so that the assistance of the American troops was called in to suppress them.

For some time there had been a critical state of affairs in the island of Mindanao, where a revolt of the Moro tribes was suppressed only after many skirmishes. The Sultan of Bacolod, especially, was very defiant, challenging the Americans to fight. When Colonel Frank D.

"Water Cure."

Waller and Smith Courts-Martial.

Malvar's Surrender.

Crimes of Ladrones

Moro Revolt.

Baldwin wrote him that the Americans did not want to interfere with the religion, polygamy or slavery prevailing among the Moros the Sultan sent this defiant reply:

Bacolod Sultan's Defiant Reply. "We ask you to retire to Malabang. We do not want you in the Lake Lamao district unless you will join our religion and adopt our customs. In case you do not so retire, all the dattos will make war on you, because here there is but one religion, that of Stamboul."

Moro Defeats. The Moro Sultans finally became so hostile that a small American expedition under Captain John J. Pershing was sent to chastise them. After four days' fighting, September 29–October 2, 1902, Captain Pershing took a strong Moro fort by storm, killing a Sultan.

Bacolod Sultan's Defiance. To General Sumner's friendly overtures the Sultan of Bacolod defiantly answered: "The Sultan of Bacolod desires war forthwith. He wishes to maintain the religion of Mohammed. Cease sending letters. What we want is war. We do not desire your friendship."

Sultan Chastised. The Sultan fortified his strongholds, and Captain Pershing was sent to chastise him. On the approach of the expedition the Sultan disavowed any hostile intentions; but after the retirement of the expedition he again became hostile, calling the Americans "hogs who eat hogs," and challenging them to fight. The Sultan was finally brought to terms by the storming and capture of the Bacolod fort late in 1902.

Friars' Lands. The question of the disposition of the friars' lands in the Philippines all along had engaged the attention of the United States authorities. These landholdings were one of the most prolific sources of discontent among the natives and the main cause of their rebellions. By 1902 the friars were disposed to sell their lands provided they could get what they considered a fair price for them. These lands were valued variously at from three million to seven and a half million dollars of United States money. The question was one of the most serious facing the American government, as the Catholic Church outside of the islands was disposed to sympathize with the friars; while the Filipino Christians, nearly all of them Roman Catholics, were bitterly and irreconcilably hostile to the friars, and insisted upon their removal from the islands and the acquisition of their lands. The United States authorities were anxious for a peaceful settlement whereby the lands of the friars could be acquired peacefully on terms of fair compensation to the friars. To accomplish this object, Governor Taft was sent on a diplomatic mission to Rome, to secure an amicable and fair adjustment of the question with the Pope.

Expansionists and Anti-Imperialists. Though the administration of President McKinley was sustained in its policy of retaining the Philippines, there was a powerful minority in the United States in favor of granting the Filipinos their independence. Generally, the Republican party favored the retention of the



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RUSSIAN PRIEST VISITING A MILITARY HOSPITAL NEAR MANILA

1990. 10. 20. 25. 26.

islands, and the Democratic party opposed such retention, though there were exceptions in both parties to the general attitude of these parties on the Philippine question. The expansionists, as they called themselves, advocated the retention of the Philippines for various reasons—for their commercial value, for their mineral wealth, for their valuable woods, for their fruits, for their agricultural products, etc.; for purposes of "benevolent assimilation," the elevation and advancement of the inhabitants, etc. The anti-imperialists, as they styled themselves, advocated granting the Filipinos their national independence as the only just course of dealing with them, as in accordance with the principles of the Declaration of Independence that all just government rests on the "consent of the governed." The anti-imperialists often quoted President McKinley as saying, in the first instance, that "forcible annexation is not to be thought of, as that would be criminal aggression." The champion of the Republican expansionists in the United States Senate was Albert J. Beveridge, of Indiana; and the chief of the Republican anti-imperialists in the same body were George Frishie Hoar, of Massachusetts; Eugene Hale, of Maine; William Ernest Mason, of Illinois, and George L. Wellington of Maryland. Senator Hoar was especially severe on the Philippine policy of the administration, his speeches in denunciation of that policy being as bold and outspoken as those of the elder Pitt in condemnation of the course of Lord North's Ministry toward the Anglo-American colonies before and during the American Revolution. Thomas Brackett Reed, of Maine, ex-Speaker of the National House of Representatives, was one of the most bitter of the Republican anti-imperialists, as he retired from public life because of disgust at the Philippine policy of his party, and as he refused to take the stump in the Presidential campaign of 1900. William Jennings Bryan, the Democratic Presidential candidate in 1896 and 1900 against McKinley, was very diligent in denouncing the injustice of ruling the Filipinos without their consent. John Tyler Morgan, of Alabama, was the great Democratic expansionist in the United States Senate. The newspapers owned by William Randolph Hearst in New York, Chicago and San Francisco were the great Democratic expansion journals, being the exception to the well-nigh universal Democratic anti-imperialist press. It was charged by the anti-imperialists that American military authorities in the Philippines had forbidden Filipinos to read the American Declaration of Independence, on the ground that it is "an incendiary document." Senator Hoar made this charge in the United States Senate, and it was not answered by his expansionist opponents in that body. The expansionists were in the habit of alluding to Jefferson's acquisition of Louisiana in justifica-

tion of the retention of the Philippines, strangely overlooking the fact that there was no parallel in the two cases, as the Louisianians did not forcibly resist acquisition, and as they were given the rights of American citizenship and their vast province was made an integral part of the United States and converted into States of the Union, while the Filipinos are denied the rights of American citizenship and their islands are held only as American possessions and not as integral parts of the United States. For that reason the anti-imperialists denounced the Republican Philippine policy as imperialism.

Samoan
Outbreak
of 1899
and Its
Settle-
ment.

Under the Tripartite Treaty of Berlin, in 1889, the Samoan, or Navigator's Islands were under the joint protection of Germany, Great Britain and the United States, and the arrangement worked satisfactorily for ten years; after which international interest in the Samoan question was renewed by a new disputed succession to the Samoan kingship and by a rivalry of the commercial interests of Germany with those of Great Britain and the United States. The joint protectorate was administered by the German, British and American consuls—Herr F. Rose, T. B. Cusack-Smith and I. W. Osborne—along with the Chief Justice of the Supreme Court of Samoa, an American, William Lea Chambers, of Sheffield, Alabama. After the death of King Malietoa Laupepa, in August, 1898, his predecessor, Mataafa, who had been driven from the Samoan throne and exiled in 1893, returned, and was re-elected king by a vote of the Samoan people six times as large as that of his rival, Malietoa Tanu, November 14, 1898; but Mataafa's partisans disputed the election as illegal, because the forms of law had not been observed, and because Mataafa had renounced all title to the throne when he returned. The dispute was referred to Chief Justice Chambers, who, after hearing the arguments of both sides, decided in favor of Malietoa Tanu, on the last day of the year 1898. The British and American consuls sustained the Chief Justice; but Herr Rose, the German consul, and Johannes Raffel, President of the Town Council of Apia, and Herr Fries, Chief of Police of Apia, both also Germans, supported Mataafa, and civil war at once broke out among the natives. As Malietoa's troops were defeated on New Year's Day, 1899, both Malietoa and Chief Justice Chambers fled to the British warship *Porpoise*; but the Chief Justice was restored to his office by British marines. The United States warship *Philadelphia*, under Rear-Admiral Albert Kautz, arrived March 8, 1899; and, after a conference with the German, British and American consuls, Admiral Kautz issued a proclamation declaring Mataafa's government illegal and ordering his followers to disperse; but Consul Rose issued a counter proclamation in favor of Mataafa, whose followers, thus encouraged, fortified houses in Apia. Thereupon Admiral Kautz issued an ulti-

matum demanding the evacuation of those houses under penalty of bombardment. As the ultimatum was disregarded, the American warship *Philadelphia* and the British warships *Porpoise* and *Royalist* shelled the villages occupied by Mataafa's followers, firing many towns and doing much damage, March 15, 1899. That night Mataafa's supporters attacked Apia, killing an American sailor and wounding several. Mataafa's partisans were repulsed in an attack on the American consulate, killing an American seaman, March 17, 1899. After the crowning of Malietoa Tanus, March 23, 1899 the British and American consuls sought to persuade Mataafa to relinquish his claims, but without success. At Vailele, April 1, 1899, the British and Americans were defeated and driven back to their ships, leaving their dead and wounded behind them, six British and six Americans being killed, all being beheaded by Mataafa's victorious followers, who lost forty-three killed and fifty wounded. The British and American warships bombarded the fortifications of Vailima, the home of the late Robert Louis Stevenson, the Scotch novelist, April 22 and 23, 1899, compelling Mataafa's adherents to retreat. A German-British-American Joint High Commission, consisting of Baron Speck von Sternberg, C. N. E. Eliot and Judge Bartlett Tripp, visited Samoa early in the summer and settled the trouble by inducing the rival kings to abdicate and establishing a temporary provisional government. Early in November, 1899, Germany, Great Britain and the United States arrived at an understanding concerning Samoan affairs; the tripartite protectorate and the native kingship being abolished permanently, Great Britain retiring from Samoa altogether and the entire Samoan group being divided between Germany and the United States. The United States received the island of Tutuila, on which was its coaling and naval station of Pago Pago, along with the adjacent islets; while Germany obtained the remainder of the Samoan group, compensating Great Britain by ceding to her the Tonga Islands, Savage Island and the two easterly islands of the Solomon group. The German claims for damages for losses from the British-American bombardments were referred to King Oscar II. of Sweden for arbitration; and three years later—October 22, 1902—that monarch decided in favor of Germany's claim of half a million dollars' damages, sustaining German action in Samoa on every point.

The detached territorial possessions of the United States—the regions not embraced within the Union of States and the contiguous Territories—now were Alaska, Porto Rico and the American insular possessions in the Pacific, namely: the Hawaiian Islands, Tutuila and the adjacent islets, with Guam, the Philippines and Wake Island. The last-named is about halfway between Guam and the Philippines,

and was seized by the United States navy after the occupation of the Philippines and Guam, being held for a coaling station.

The
Hague
Peace
Confer-
ence.

In the spring of 1899 the Czar Nicholas II. of Russia proposed a general disarmament of the Great Powers of the world and the settlement of international disputes by peaceful means. In accordance with his suggestion, all the nations of Europe, great and small, along with four Asiatic nations—China, Japan, Siam and Persia, and the two great North American republics—the United States of America and the United States of Mexico, appointed delegates who met in a Peace Conference at The Hague, the capital of the Kingdom of the Netherlands, in the summer and fall of 1899, and, after mature deliberation, agreed upon a plan for the adjustment of disputes between nations through a Permanent International Court of Arbitration sitting at The Hague.

Cuba and
Porto
Rico.

After the Spanish-American War both Cuba and Porto Rico passed quietly under the military authority of the United States, Cuba being held thus until the establishment of a republican form of government by the Cubans themselves in the spring of 1902, while Porto Rico was governed thus until the establishment of a colonial government by act of the United States Congress, which act went into effect May 1, 1900, thus organizing Porto Rico as a dependency of the United States, with a Governor and Legislative Council appointed by the President and a Legislative Assembly elected by the people of Porto Rico themselves, the island being represented at Washington by a Commissioner, who was not given a seat in Congress, as was the Delegate from the new Territory of Hawaii. The temporary small tariff on imports from Porto Rico to the United States and from the United States to Porto Rico was opposed bitterly by the Democrats and by a large number of Republicans, who held that Porto Rico was an integral part of the United States and its people American citizens; that the proposed tariff was therefore unconstitutional, and that the Constitution follows the flag; while the supporters of the administration and the majority in Congress maintained that Porto Rico and the Philippines were not parts, but only possessions, of the United States, and their people not American citizens; that the Constitution does not necessarily follow the flag, and that Congress has full power over the territorial possessions of the United States—a contention which, in the main, was upheld by the United States Supreme Court in May, 1901.

Gold
Standard
Act.

The most important measure of Congress in 1900 was the Gold Standard Act, which provided that the gold dollar shall be the standard unit of value; that all forms of money issued or coined in the United States shall be kept "at a parity of value" with this gold standard, and that United States notes and Treasury notes shall be redeemed in

gold coin, for which purpose one hundred and fifty million dollars of gold coin or bullion was set apart in the National treasury.

In the spring of 1900 a patriotic society in China, known as *Boxers*, angered by the aggressions of Russia, Germany and France in China and at the Christian missionaries and their work, began to massacre the native Christians in the North of China and expelled or murdered all Christian missionaries and other foreigners. The disorders extended to Pekin, the Chinese capital, where United States Minister Edwin Hurd Conger and the other foreign Ministers and their countrymen, among whom were some Americans, sought refuge in the British legation, where they were besieged by the Boxers and regular Chinese troops, as the Chinese government acted in sympathy with the Boxers, instead of suppressing them. The United States, Great Britain, Germany, France, Russia and Japan sent troops and warships to China to rescue their beleaguered Ministers and people in the Chinese capital, American soldiers under General Adna Romanza Chaffee being sent from the Philippines and American warships under Admiral George Collier Remey also being sent to coöperate with the allied relief expedition. War was not declared against China by the allied nations; but their troops were obliged to fight the Chinese imperial troops, more than a hundred thousand of whom aided the Boxers and opposed the march of the allied expedition to Pekin. Fierce fighting occurred during the summer of 1900. The allies captured the Taku forts by storm, June 17, 1900, the forts having fired on the allied fleet. During June and July there was incessant fighting at Tien-tsin, the allied position being bombarded constantly by an immense Chinese imperial army and defended firmly by the allies, who were repulsed terribly on July 13, 1900, the Ninth United States Infantry being cut to pieces, and its commander, Colonel Emerson H. Liscum, being killed. The next day the Chinese were driven from Tien-tsin, and the allies advanced on Pekin, defeating the Chinese at Peitsang, August 5th; at Yang-tsun, August 7th, and at Nan-tsin-Nin, August 8th. The allies captured Pekin by assault and relieved the besieged Ministers and other foreigners, August 14, 1900. By the protocol signed at Pekin several months afterward China was required to pay an indemnity of over three hundred million dollars to the allies and to behead some of the Boxer leaders in an un-Christian spirit of revenge.

We now come to the Presidential campaign of 1900. On June 21st the Republican National Convention at Philadelphia nominated President McKinley for reelection, with Governor Theodore Roosevelt, of New York, for Vice President, Vice President Hobart having died the previous year; the Republican platform endorsing President McKinley's policy and administration. On July 5th the Democratic Na-

**Boxer
Outbreak
in China.**

**Presi-
dential
Campaign
of 1900
and Re-
election
of Mc-
Kinley.**

UNITED STATES OF AMERICA.

tional Convention at Kansas City, Missouri, renominated William Jennings Bryan, of Nebraska, for President, and ex-Vice President Adlai Ewing Stevenson, of Illinois, for Vice President, on a platform denouncing imperialism and trusts. On the same day—July 5, 1900—the Silver Republicans, or Lincoln Republicans, in a National Convention also at Kansas City, Missouri, also nominated Bryan and Stevenson for President and Vice President respectively. On May 10th the Regular, or Fusion Populists, in a National Convention at Sioux Falls, South Dakota, nominated Mr. Bryan for President and Charles Arnette Towne, of Minnesota, for Vice President; but after the nomination of Bryan and Stevenson by the Democrats and the Lincoln Republicans, Mr. Towne withdrew in favor of Mr. Stevenson, who then was accepted as the Regular Populist candidate for Vice President. On the very day of the Fusion, or Regular Populist nominations—May 10, 1900—the Anti-Fusion, or Middle-of-the-Road Populists, in a National Convention at Kansas City, Missouri, nominated Wharton Barker, of Pennsylvania, for President, and Ignatius Donnelly, of Minnesota, for Vice President. On the very same day—May 10, 1900—the Socialists, or Social Democratic party, in a National Convention at Indianapolis, nominated Eugene Victor Debs, of Indiana, for President, and Job Harriman, of California, for Vice President. On June 6th the Socialist-Labor party, in a National Convention in New York city, nominated Joseph Francis Maloney, of Massachusetts, for President, and Valentine Remmel, of Pennsylvania, for Vice President. On June 28th the Prohibition party, in a National Convention at Chicago, nominated John Granville Woolley, of Illinois, for President, and Henry Brewer Metcalf, of Rhode Island, for Vice President. On August 16th the Liberty party, or National Anti-Imperialist League, in a Convention at Indianapolis, nominated Bryan and Stevenson for President and Vice President. On September 5th the National party, Gold Democrats and Republican Anti-Imperialists, in a Convention in New York city, nominated United States Senator Donelson Caffery, of Louisiana, for President, and Archibald Murray Howe, of Massachusetts, for Vice President; but both nominees declined. The Union Reform party for Direct Legislation nominated Seth H. Ellis, of Ohio, for President, and Samuel T. Nicholson, of Pennsylvania, for Vice President. The United Christian party nominated the Rev. Dr. Silas C. Swallow, of Pennsylvania, for President, and the Rev. Charles M. Sheldon, of Kansas, for Vice President. Thus there were eight sets of candidates nominated; but the main interest, of course, centered in the candidates of the two great parties, and the canvass was a very lively one. The election took place on November 6, 1900, and resulted in the reëlection of President McKinley. The House of Representatives

chosen at the same time was Republican by a reduced majority. President McKinley's second inauguration, on March 4, 1901, was a very imposing demonstration; and his old Cabinet was reappointed, and was reconfirmed by the United States Senate, which had been convened in extra session.

On November 7, 1900, a treaty had been signed at Washington between the American Secretary of State and the Spanish Minister to the United States, by which Spain ceded Cagayan and Sibutu, the only islands in Oceanica remaining in Spain's possession, to the United States for one hundred thousand dollars.

Islands
Pur-
chased
from
Spain.

For many years schemes were on foot for the construction of an isthmian canal through Nicaragua, connecting the Atlantic and Pacific Oceans, to be owned or controlled by the United States; and many companies had been organized for the purpose. In 1899 President McKinley appointed a commission, with Rear-Admiral John Grimes Walker as chairman, to examine the Nicaragua and Panama routes and to report as to the feasibility of a canal by either route. This commission presented its preliminary report in the fall of 1900, unanimously recommending the Nicaragua route, the report concluding with a comparison of the advantages of the Nicaragua and Panama routes. Along with the desire for this isthmian canal there was a demand in the United States for the abrogation of the Clayton-Bulwer Treaty, concluded by the United States and Great Britain in 1850 for the joint control of any proposed isthmian canal.

Isthmian
Canal
Commis-
sion.

The Hay-Pauncefote Treaty for the settlement of this question, negotiated by John Hay, the American Secretary of State, and Lord Pauncefote, the British Ambassador at Washington, in February, 1900, was ratified by the United States Senate, after several weeks of discussion in executive session, by a vote of fifty-three to eighteen, with three amendments which considerably altered the character of the treaty, December 20, 1900. The Davis amendment, proposed by Senator Cushman Kellogg Davis, of Minnesota, after much discussion had been adopted on December 13, 1900, by a vote of sixty-five to seventeen. This amendment followed the article in the treaty which provided for the complete neutralization of the canal in peace and war, the amendment stating that none of these provisions shall apply to measures which the United States may find it necessary to take for securing by its own forces the defense of the United States and the maintenance of public order. Another amendment declared the entire Clayton-Bulwer Treaty of 1850 to be superseded by the new treaty. A third amendment struck out the article which provided for the acceptance of the treaty by the other Great Powers. This treaty as amended and ratified was transmitted to Great Britain for acceptance.

The Hay-
Paunce-
fote
Treaties.

As the amended treaty was not accepted by Great Britain, a new Hay-Pauncefote Treaty was negotiated several months afterward, confirmed by the United States Senate and accepted by both nations.

**Condi-
tions
Imposed
on Cuba.**

In the meantime a Cuban national convention had framed a constitution for the new Cuban Republic. The United States government made demands upon Cuba for coaling stations on the island; for the occupation of the island by American garrisons; for the control of the finances and foreign relations of the proposed new Cuban Republic, and for the insertion of an expression of gratitude for the aid of the United States in freeing the island from Spanish rule. These terms were distasteful to the Cubans, and the Cuban constitutional convention formally rejected these demands early in April, 1901; but, upon the insistence by the United States upon the acceptance of these terms, the Cuban constitutional convention finally yielded and accepted the foregoing terms as embodied in resolutions in the United States Senate introduced by Senator Platt, of Connecticut, and therefore known as "the Platt Amendment." These conditions were condemned by a large body of the American people as unjust and as being a violation of the pledge made by the United States Congress upon the eve of the Spanish-American War. One Cuban leader remarked that if the United States insisted on these terms the Cubans would have nothing to be grateful for. Another said that when the United States once fulfilled its promise to let Cuba govern herself it would be time to express gratitude. The United States government seemed to forget that the framers of the American Constitution did not insert a clause therein expressing gratitude to France for her aid to the American Revolutionists, nor did France ask for naval stations and French garrisons on United States soil or the control of the finances or the foreign relations of the United States; and the United States showed so little gratitude as to remain neutral when Great Britain and the other European Powers made war on Revolutionary and Republican France, and even went so far as to go to war with France a few years later and to raise the cry of "Millions for defense, but not one cent for tribute."

**Pan-
American
Exposi-
tion at
Buffalo.**

**Assassin-
ation of
President
Mc-
Kinley.**

On May 20, 1901, a Pan-American Exposition, in which all the industries and products of the American nations were represented, was opened at Buffalo, amid imposing ceremonies; and it remained open until into the autumn, being attended by many thousands of visitors. President McKinley visited the Exposition early in September, making an address there September 5th. The next day, Friday, September 6, 1901, while on the Exposition grounds, he was shot by an Anarchist from Detroit named Leon F. Czolgosz; and, after lingering in great pain for eight days, he died there, Saturday, September 14, 1901, to

Public
Grief.Obse-
quies.President
Roose-
velt.Pan-
American
Congress
at the
City of
Mexico.Charles-
ton
Exposi-
tion.Anthra-
cite Coal
Strike.Elections
of 1902.Cuban
Republic.Reci-
procity
Treaty.

the great grief of the American people. Funeral services were held over his remains at Buffalo, Sunday, September 15th; after which his remains were conveyed to Washington, where funeral obsequies were held, Tuesday, September 17th; after which the remains of the dead President were taken to his home at Canton, Ohio, where they were interred with imposing funeral ceremonies, Thursday, September 19, 1901; the funeral day being observed appropriately by funeral services in the churches all over the country. His death was lamented in foreign lands, and King Edward's court went in mourning for one week. Czolgosz, the assassin, was tried and convicted, and was electrocuted in the State prison at Auburn, New York, on Tuesday, October 29, 1901; and his remains were decomposed in a short time by means of quicklime.

On the day of President McKinley's death—September 14, 1901—Vice President Roosevelt was sworn into office as President of the United States; and he retained his lamented predecessor's Cabinet. The United States was represented in the Pan-American Congress—a congress of delegates from all the republics of North and South America in the city of Mexico, in session for three months during the late fall of 1901 and the early winter of 1901-'02, ending January 31, 1902. On December 2, 1901, the South Carolina Interstate and West Indies Exposition opened at Charleston and remained open during the winter and the following spring, 1901-'02, and was visited by President Roosevelt on April 9, 1902, the President making an address to the visitors.

In May, 1902, a great strike broke out in the anthracite coal region of Pennsylvania, and lasted until late in October, when it was settled by an arbitration commission appointed by President Roosevelt, the commission's verdict being accepted by both sides; but the results of the strike lasted all winter, causing a general coal famine and much suffering throughout the country. The elections of 1901 and 1902 resulted generally in favor of the Republicans, who again secured a majority in the House of Representatives in the elections in November, 1902, which were characterized by a tremendous growth in the Socialist vote.

The United States military control over Cuba ceased on May 20, 1902, when the newly-organized Republic of Cuba began its existence by the inauguration of the newly-elected Cuban President, Tomas Estrada Palma, and the installation of the new government, thus placing a new power among the nations of the earth. After considerable opposition in the United States Senate and after many months of delay, a reciprocity treaty was concluded between the United States and the new island republic.

British-German-Venezuelan Dispute.

In December, 1902, and January, 1903, Germany and Great Britain endeavored to compel Venezuela to pay the long-standing claims of German and British subjects against the Venezuelan government. The defiance of these two Great European Powers by Venezuela led to the blockade of La Guira, the port of Caracas, the Venezuelan capital, and the sinking of several Venezuelan war vessels by German and British warships, in December, 1902; while the German and British consuls were arrested and imprisoned by Venezuela. After considerable negotiation and through the efforts of United States Minister Herbert Wolcott Bowen at Caracas, Venezuela and the two European Powers were induced to submit their difficulties to arbitration; Germany and Great Britain, in the meantime, having assured the United States that no attack on the Monroe Doctrine was intended.

Isthmian Canal Bill.

After the report of President McKinley's Isthmian Canal Commission, late in 1899, the question of an isthmian canal, connecting the two great oceans by way of Nicaragua or Panama, occupied the attention of Congress, the general preference at first being for the Panama route; and measures were passed looking toward the construction of a canal by that route. The friends of the Panama route were quite active to defeat the Nicaragua canal scheme, while the great transcontinental railroads were working quietly against the building of any isthmian canal. On January 9, 1902, the House of Representatives passed a bill in favor of a Nicaragua canal, but the Senate rejected the bill. In March, 1902, a protocol was signed by Secretary of State John Hay and Señor Herran, the Colombian Minister at Washington—therefore called the Hay-Herran Treaty—which provided for the granting of the right of way across the Isthmus of Panama by the Colombian government, in return for the payment of forty million dollars and certain concessions by the United States government. In June, 1902, both Houses of the United States Congress passed an act providing for the construction of an isthmian canal by the Panama route, and the bill was signed promptly by President Roosevelt. The United States Senate speedily ratified the canal treaty between the United States of America and the United States of Colombia. The Colombian House of Representatives favored the treaty; but the Colombian Senate rejected it in August, 1903, demanding more than forty million dollars for the right of way across the Isthmus of Panama, as provided for by the treaty.

New Republic of Panama.

The failure of the Colombian government to ratify the Hay-Herran Treaty for the building of the Panama Canal by the United States government caused well-nigh universal dissatisfaction in the State of Panama and led to the secession of that State from the United States of Colombia. This secession was the result of a revolution originating

in an uprising against the Colombian government in the city of Panama on the evening of November 3, 1903, when the Colombian commanders there were taken prisoners by the Panama rebels. A Colombian gunboat in the harbor deserted to the insurgents; but another Colombian gunboat, the *Bogota*, bombarded the city of Panama, but was driven off by the fire from the forts and from the other gunboat. Colombia was prevented from reconquering her seceded State by the action of the United States government, which came to the assistance of Panama by sending the cruisers *Nashville* and *Boston*, the former arriving at Colon the day before the Panama outbreak, and the latter reaching the city of Panama on the following day. The Colombian government protested to the United States government and to the whole world against this action of the United States in thus vindicating the doctrine of secession, which doctrine it had put down by force of arms in its own territory forty years before—a doctrine against which Abraham Lincoln had contended persistently and successfully for four years. The course of the United States in the case of this Panama secession was precisely the same as that for which it had censured great Britain and France in affording aid to the eleven Slave States which had seceded from its own Union in 1861. Colombia was prevented from reaching Panama by sending troops overland on account of impassable barriers, and consequently the new Republic of Panama was established firmly and was recognized at once by the United States and the Great Powers of Europe. The new republic sent a Frenchman, Philippe Bunau-Varilla, as its Minister to the United States; and a treaty was negotiated at once between Panama and the United States for the construction of the Panama Canal. Dr. Manuel Amador was the leader of the Panama secession movement, and a self-constituted junta of three men acted as a provisional government for the new Republic of Panama. President Morroquin, of the United States of Colombia, sent General Rafael Reyes, the leading Colombian general and statesman, to the United States of America, to use all his efforts for the speedy recovery of Panama for Colombia by peaceful means, but without success; and the new republic on the Isthmus of Panama was successfully established.

On Sunday and Monday, February 7 and 8, 1904, a great fire swept over Baltimore, destroying an area of eighty blocks of the business portion of the city, thus reducing over twenty-five hundred buildings to ashes and causing a loss of over seventy million dollars.

For some time preparations had been made for a World's Fair, or Louisiana Purchase Exposition, at St. Louis, in honor of the purchase of Louisiana from France in 1803; and this Exposition was opened April 30, 1904, with imposing ceremonies. The Exposition was in session until fall and was visited by millions of people. The various nations of the world made creditable exhibits of their progress in the useful arts; and the

Great
Fire in
Baltimore.

Louisiana
Purchase
Exposi-
tion at
St. Louis.

general progress of the world since the great World's Columbian Exposition at Chicago, eleven years before, was portrayed very clearly. Especially was the progress in electrical invention fully shown.

Presidential Campaign of 1904 and Re-election of Roosevelt.

The Republican National Convention in Chicago, on June 23, 1904, nominated President Roosevelt for a full term as President, with United States Senator Charles Warren Fairbanks, of Indiana, for Vice-President. The Democratic National Convention in St. Louis, on July 9, 1904, nominated Judge Alton Brooks Parker, of New York, for President, with ex-United States Senator Henry Gassaway Davis, of West Virginia, for Vice-President. The Socialist party, in a National Convention in Chicago, on May 6, 1904, renominated Eugene Victor Debs, of Indiana, for President, with Benjamin Hanford, of New York, for Vice-President, on a platform declaring for the public ownership and operation of industries and public utilities. The Socialist-Labor party, in a National Convention in New York city, on July 6, 1904, nominated Charles H. Corregan, of New York, for President, with William W. Cox, of Illinois, for Vice-President. The Populists, in their National Convention at Springfield, Illinois, on July 5, 1904, nominated Thomas E. Watson, of Georgia, for President, with Thomas H. Tibbles, of Nebraska, for Vice-President. The Prohibitionists, in their National Convention, at Indianapolis, on June 30, 1904, nominated the Rev. Dr. Silas C. Swallow, of Pennsylvania, for President, with George Washington Carroll, of Texas, for Vice-President. As the difference between the two great parties at this time was only a difference in name and in nothing else, the campaign was a very spiritless one, lacking wholly in political enthusiasm; and the result was practically one-sided, President Roosevelt receiving a majority of almost two hundred in the Electoral College and a popular plurality of over two and a half million, while the Republicans obtained a majority of over one hundred in the new National House of Representatives chosen at the same time, the Democratic party thus meeting with the most crushing defeat in its history. A surprising result of the election was the tremendous increase in the Socialist vote, which reached almost half a million, making the Socialists the third party. The Prohibitionists polled about a quarter of a million votes, the Populists about a hundred thousand and the Socialist-Labor party thirty-three thousand.

In 1904 there were several strikes, the largest being that of 45,000 meat-packers in Chicago, July-August, and that of about 30,000 textile mill operatives at Fall River, Mass., July, 1904-January, 1905. There were also many labor troubles in Colorado.

Dispute with Panama.

In 1904, a dispute with Panama occurred concerning customs receipts, etc., in the Panama Canal zone. In November, Secretary Taft went there to negotiate, and finally agreed that Panama should have all the customs receipts of the canal zone, but should reduce her tariff and port charges and should grant free trade to the zone.



THEODORE ROOSEVELT

On July 25, 1904, the Venezuelan disputes were again revived when the property of the New York and Bermudez Asphalt Company was attached to enforce the payment of a fine of nine million six hundred and fifty thousand dollars imposed for the alleged promotion of the Matos rebellion. The United States authorities protested and requested arbitration, but on February 15, 1905, President Castro absolutely refused this and the Venezuelan Supreme Court affirmed its decision sequestering the land.

Venezuelan Troubles.

In 1904 a commercial treaty with China was ratified and during the third session of the Fifty-ninth Congress, December 5, 1904–March 3, 1905, arbitration treaties with seven European nations and a general arbitration treaty with sixteen American republics were ratified.

By a *modus vivendi* of March 31, 1905, it was agreed with Santo Domingo that until the convention of February 7th was ratified the United States should guarantee the integrity of the Dominican territory and assist in the preservation of order, if allowed to assume control over the finances of the republic. The contraction of debts during disturbed political conditions—some by the regular government and some by the revolution government, and many of which were of doubtful validity—had compelled this move. These debts and claims amounted to over thirty million dollars and the creditors had been unable to enforce collection. Therefore, on March 25, 1905, it was arranged that a United States commissioner should temporarily collect the customs revenues, though it was not until February 25, 1907, that the treaty was ratified. In the meantime, however, the debts had been reduced by about thirteen million dollars—claims for this amount being considered unjustifiable—and in payment of the balance bonds for twenty million dollars were issued, to be retired by an adjustment of the revenues, certain amounts being paid each month to liquidate the bonds and the balance to the Dominican government.

Dominican Finances.

Other events in foreign affairs during 1905 were the declaration, July 19th, of a boycott against American merchandise by the trade guilds of five Chinese treaty ports in retaliation for continued immigration restrictions against the Chinese; and the signing of a treaty of peace at Portsmouth, N. H., by the representatives of Japan and Russia, thus formally concluding the Russo-Japanese war. This peace conference was largely due to the efforts of President Roosevelt.

Chinese Boycott.

In 1905 another world's fair was held at Portland, Oregon, from May till October—the Lewis and Clark Exposition, commemorating the discovery and exploration in 1804–06 of the rivers forming the Columbia. Other events in 1905 were the establishment on April 27, by Andrew Carnegie, of a fund of ten million dollars for pensioning college professors (increased by five million dollars April 3, 1908); the gift, on June 30, by John D. Rockefeller, of ten million dollars to the General Education Board (increased by thirty-two million dollars on February 7, 1907); the team-

Other Events in 1905.

ster's strike at Chicago, April-July; the outbreak of yellow fever in Mississippi and Louisiana during the summer and the consequent dispute concerning jurisdiction of authorities; and the discovery in Paris, on April 14, by Ambassador Porter, of the bones of John Paul Jones. The body was brought to the United States, temporarily interred at Annapolis, July 24, and subsequently reinterred in Bancroft Hall, April 24, 1906, to await the erection of a permanent resting-place.

Life
In-
sur-
ance
Investi-
gations.

The year 1905 also witnessed the scandal in connection with life insurance companies in New York. The disclosures were directly the outcome of disputes and subsequent accusations and recriminations between officers of the Equitable Life Assurance Society. An investigation revealed an infamous condition of affairs and finally the controlling stock of the Society, owned by James H. Hyde, was purchased by Thomas F. Ryan and placed in trust with three eminent men as voting trustees, and the administrative departments of the company were completely rehabilitated. These disclosures also compelled an exhaustive investigation of other New York insurance companies by a legislative committee known as the Armstrong Committee. This investigation began on September 6, 1905, and brought to light many questionable transactions. The facts that contributions of huge sums were made to political parties (in one case about one hundred and fifty thousand dollars in three years); that "yellow dog" funds were maintained to influence advantageous and ward off hostile legislation (one company expended eight hundred and eighty-five thousand dollars in five years); that vast sums were paid to persons who rendered no adequate service, and that false reports of conditions were rendered and "fake" entries made in books to cover iniquitous uses of money, were some of the conditions revealed. On February 22, 1906, the Armstrong Committee presented its report to the legislature and many of its recommendations were afterward enacted into laws. Many of the officers, directors and other officials of the companies resigned or were dismissed; many were indicted and a few convicted for grand larceny and forgery; and numerous suits instituted to recover the misappropriated funds. Some of these funds were returned but only a small portion. Subsequently many of the States enacted such drastic insurance laws that the companies found it unprofitable to continue business within their borders and withdrew.

Convic-
tions of
Bank
Default-
ers and
Others.

The misappropriation of funds was not, however, confined to officials of insurance companies. Banks, trust funds, government, state and municipal treasuries, etc., were remorselessly looted, but many of the defaulters were indicted, convicted and sentenced to long terms of imprisonment. There were also many instances of bribing of legislators. Prominent among the numerous cases were the following: F. G. Bigelow, president of the First National Bank of Milwaukee, sentenced for ten years,

June 10, 1905, for embezzling one million, four hundred and fifty thousand dollars; the sentence of twelve years, imposed August 3, 1906, on ex-Mayor Belcher of Paterson, N. J., for looting a trust fund and building and loan association; F. H. Hippel, president of the Real Estate Trust Company of Philadelphia, committed suicide and on August 28, 1906, the bank failed for ten million dollars; Paul O. Stensland, president of the Milwaukee Avenue State Bank of Chicago, sentenced to ten years on September 26, 1906, for embezzling one million dollars; John R. Walsh, of the Chicago National Bank, in January, 1908, sentenced to a long term for diverting three million dollars to his personal use; the "boodle aldermen" of St. Louis, Mo., in 1904 sentenced to long terms; the conviction, in 1904, of United States Senator Burton of Kansas for accepting a bribe, subsequently serving six months; the conviction of numerous postoffice officials for complicity in defrauding the government; the conviction, on July 6, 1905, of Senator Mitchell of Oregon, in connection with the land fraud cases; the expulsion on February 27, 1905, of four California state senators for accepting bribes, and on June 21, 1906, of a member of the Massachusetts legislature for the same reason; the conviction, on April 13, 1906, of Greene and Gaynor, the Savannah, Ga., harbor improvement defrauders, and sentence to four years and fines of five hundred and seventy-five thousand, seven hundred and forty-nine dollars each; and in January, 1908, the beginning of an investigation into the Pennsylvania state capitol frauds.

In 1906 many important events occurred. Several much needed laws were passed by Congress, including the Pure Food Bill (taking effect January 1, 1907), prohibiting adulteration of foods, drugs, etc., and compelling the placing of an inspection label on all cans, packages, etc.; the meat inspection law (approved June 30, and confirmed by the act of March 4, 1907), regulating the inspection of meat foods; and the statehood bill, signed by President Roosevelt June 16, 1906 (Oklahoma afterward ratified her section of the bill and was admitted with Indian Territory as a state in November, 1907, but Arizona voted adversely on the proposition and nullified the provisions enabling her and New Mexico to become a state). During the year numerous race riots occurred—at Springfield, Ohio, February 28, at Springfield, Mo., April 15, and at Atlanta, Ga., in September, the city being placed under martial law. During April and May the coal miners of Pennsylvania were on strike but finally accepted the operators terms. On April 18 San Francisco, Cal., was wrecked by an earthquake and much of the city destroyed by a fire that raged for two days. The property loss was estimated at over three hundred million dollars and four hundred and twenty-five lives were lost. On May 24 the union of the Presbyterian Church in the United States and the Cumberland Presbyterian Church was effected.

Legislation enacted in 1906.

Race Riots.

San Francisco Disaster.

**Brownsville
Affair.**

In a riot at Brownsville, Texas, it was alleged that several soldiers of a negro battalion of the twenty-fifth infantry killed and wounded a number of citizens; after investigation, President Roosevelt, in November, 1906, disbanded the regiment "without honor" though the order was later amended. The whole matter was subjected to a searching congressional investigation.

**Japanese
Troubles.**

In October, 1906, occurred the agitation in San Francisco concerning the exclusion of Japanese subjects from the regular schools. Much excitement prevailed but the controversy was amicably adjusted.

**Cuba
Again
Under
United
States
Authority.**

During these years much had transpired in Cuba. President Palma had credibly served through his first term, was again elected, as candidate of the Moderate Party, on September 23, 1905, and reinaugurated in May, 1906. The Liberal Party, however, charged that fraud and corruption were practiced in the elections and soon the island was in a state bordering on revolution. Being unable to adjust their disputes among themselves, Secretary Taft and Assistant Secretary of State Bacon were sent in September, 1906, to arbitrate. They failed to bring matters to a successful issue, and as Palma resigned the presidency, Taft proclaimed the island under United States authority, and on September 29, installed himself provisional governor. He was succeeded, on October 12, by Charles E. Magoon. The insurgents were speedily pacified, and after a census had been taken and published in December, 1907, new elections were ordered to be held in December, 1908. It was anticipated that the island would again be restored to the Cubans by February 1, 1909.

**New-
found-
land
Fisher-
ies
Dispute.**

For several years there had been trouble with Canada and Newfoundland over American fishery rights in Newfoundland waters. Treaties proposed with these countries were not ratified by the legislative bodies, and a *modus vivendi* was continued year after year. In April, 1905, in retaliation for wrongs committed, Newfoundland cancelled the *modus vivendi*, and enacted some very harsh measures against American fishermen. During 1906-'07 negotiations were opened with Great Britain to settle the matter, but as nothing definite was accomplished, in July, 1908, it was agreed to continue the *modus vivendi* pending a settlement by the Hague tribunal.

**Panama
Canal
Progress.**

Great progress was made on the Panama Canal after 1903, and many alterations in the plans of construction were made, after much debate Congress finally deciding in favor of the high-level lock type, and President Roosevelt approving June 29, 1906. Meanwhile the personnel of the Canal Commission had undergone many changes. Early in 1905 Theodore P. Shonts became chairman and John F. Wallace chief engineer; in June, 1905, Wallace resigned and was succeeded by J. F. Stevens; in January 23, 1907, Shonts resigned, his position being taken by Stevens, who also in turn resigned on March 4, 1907, to be succeeded, April 1, by Lieutenant-

Colonel George W. Goethals, of the Army engineer corps. Labor difficulties also arose, and as West Indian negroes proved unsatisfactory and as the proposed plan to use Chinese coolie labor was rejected, it was decided to build the canal by contract; no satisfactory bids were received, however, and the government decided to continue the work. The expenditures for purchase, plant, etc. up to May, 1908, amounted to more than one hundred and forty million dollars; more than forty thousand persons were employed on the work, and nearly fifty million cubic yards of earth and stone had been removed.

The Philippine Islands had also experienced many changes and great progress. Early in 1904 Governor Taft resigned and was succeeded by Luke E. Wright, who held office until April, 1906, when Henry C. Ide became Governor-General, he in turn giving way, on September 20, 1906, to James F. Smith. After American occupation, order was restored and the insurgent forces speedily conquered and pacified. Beneficial laws were passed and efficient civil government established, with the design of ultimately allowing the Filipinos self-government. Section seven of the Act of Congress of July 1, 1902, provided that should the islands be peaceful for two years after the publication of a census, an election should take place of native delegates to a general assembly to take over the legislative powers exercised by the Philippine Commission. This census was published March 27, 1905, and peaceful conditions having prevailed for two years, President Roosevelt, on March 28, 1907, issued the formal order for the election. This was held July 30, 1907, and on October 16 Secretary Taft opened the new assembly of which the Philippine Commission comprises the upper chamber and the native delegates the lower. The islands are also allowed to send two commissioners to Congress, the first of these being accorded seats in that body in February, 1908. Other events were the opening of the first postal savings bank, October 1, 1906; the approval of a congressional act, March 4, 1907, establishing an agricultural bank; the destruction of Iloilo, Panay, by fire, April 19, 1907; and the passage of a bill prohibiting the importation of opium except for medicinal purposes after March 1, 1908.

Other events at home in 1907 were the creation, on March 12, by Mrs. Russell Sage, of a fund of ten million dollars for philanthropic work; an additional gift of six million dollars by Andrew Carnegie to the Carnegie Institute at Pittsburgh; the disastrous floods in Pittsburgh and vicinity, inflicting damages of ten million dollars; the ratification by Congress of eleven conventions of the second Hague Peace Conference held June 15-October 18, the Tercentenary Exposition at Jamestown, Va., April-November; the approval of a new immigration law February 20, increasing taxation on aliens; the opening of the Central American Peace Conference at Washington, November 17; the decision by the Supreme Court that the

Self-Government in Philippine Islands and Other Events.

Important Events in 1907.

Isle of Pines (concerning the jurisdiction over which there had been much dispute) was not American territory; the passage by Congress of an act prohibiting contributions to political parties by corporations; and the departure of the naval fleet, on December 16, on a trip around the world.

Meanwhile the subject of industrial and commercial combinations, popularly known as trusts, had been agitating the country, and it was alleged that many of these had been operating in unlawful restraint of trade. One of the first important decisions was rendered on March 14, 1904, when the Supreme Court, by a vote of five to four, declared that the Northern Securities Company was operating in violation of the Sherman anti-trust law and was therefore illegal. In rapid succession during the next three years followed indictments too numerous to specify, but prominent among which were those against the so-called beef trust, July 1, 1905; against five Toledo, Ohio, ice dealers, who, on June 25, 1906, were each fined five thousand dollars and sentenced to one year imprisonment; against the harvester trust; against the American Seating Company, March 12, 1907 (fines aggregating forty-three thousand dollars imposed May 20, 1907); against the American Tobacco Company, July 10, 1907; against the Standard Oil Company; against the powder trust, July 30, 1907; and (by the Texas state authorities) against the Waters-Pierce Oil Company, a fine of one million, six hundred and twenty-three thousand, nine hundred dollars being imposed June 1, 1907, and in 1908 the company being prohibited from further transaction of business in the state. Closely allied with these suits were those instituted for violations of the Interstate commerce act and its amendment, known as the Elkins act. Hundreds of cases, involving thousands of counts, were brought against all classes of corporations for rebating, and in several instances convictions were secured, but the majority of these suits are still pending.

Probably the most widely known of the corporations so indicted was the Standard Oil Company and its numerous subsidiary companies, against which a large number of cases were conducted, the most important decision against the company being made on August 3, 1907, when Judge K. M. Landis, in the United States District Court at Chicago, found the Indiana corporation guilty of rebating on one thousand four hundred and sixty-two counts, and imposed the maximum fine of twenty-nine million two hundred and forty thousand dollars. The company appealed, however, and on July 22, 1908, the judgment was reversed by the Seventh District Court of Appeals at Chicago. Many of the states also started suits against the company, notably Ohio, Missouri, Kansas, Tennessee, and Texas, but with the exception of the last two no actual results were accomplished.

The years 1906-'07 were also prolific in enactments by various state legislatures requiring railroads to lower their interstate passenger rates.

The
Trust
Problem.

Rebate
Suits.

Standard
Oil
Case.

Railway
Rate
Cases.

Many required that a rate of two cents per mile be charged though some allowed more. Some of these laws, however, were declared by the courts to be unconstitutional, notably that of Pennsylvania, on January 28, 1908, and those of North Carolina and Minnesota, March 23, 1908. Another act passed by Congress, known as the Hepburn act, became operative May 1, 1908, and under its terms common carriers cannot lawfully transport from one state to another any commodities in which they have a commercial interest. As this particularly affected the group of allied anthracite coal roads of Pennsylvania, whose earnings in large part came from the mining, transportation, and sale of coal, the law was rigorously attacked, and a decision rendered declaring it unconstitutional.

In October, 1907, began a financial panic in New York City. Confidence in the management of several banking institutions had become impaired and runs on a number of these continued for several days, but though several were forced to suspend during this and succeeding months, sufficient aid was extended by the national government, the clearing house association and by private individuals to prevent a more serious disaster. The subsequent exposures of questionable transactions by bank officials caused the suicide and death of several and the indictment of others. The general business activity of the country was seriously affected by the panic for a long time and the recovery was slow and gradual. The financial stringency, however, resulted in legislation looking toward a more elastic currency. The law, known as the Emergency Currency Bill, was passed by the House on May 27, 1908, and by the Senate May 30, and was a compromise between the bills known as the Aldrich and the Vreeland currency bills. The bill provides for the formation of incorporated national currency associations comprising not less than ten banks each, with power during financial stringencies, to issue emergency currency up to five hundred million dollars, if proper collateral be deposited. This currency is so taxed as to insure its retirement when its need has passed. The bill also created a national monetary commission of eighteen members of Congress to study remedial measures.

In 1906 the Venezuelan matter once more claimed attention. President Castro again refused to arbitrate, the Supreme Court of Venezuela affirmed its previous decision, and President Roosevelt was forced to sever relations with Venezuela; on June 21 the legation in Venezuela was closed, and on July 9 the Venezuelan representative was recalled, thus closing diplomatic intercourse between the two countries.

During the first session of the Sixtieth Congress, March 4, 1907-May 30, 1908, twelve arbitration treaties were ratified (with Denmark, France, Great Britain, Italy, Japan, Mexico, Holland, Norway, Portugal, Spain, Sweden, and Switzerland); also an agreement for a Pan-American copyright and code of international law; conventions with Great Britain regu-

Financial
Panic
in New
York.

Currency
Legisla-
tion.

Relations
with
Venezuela
Severed.

Treaties
Ratified
by
Congress.

lating the water boundary between Canada and the United States and for regulating the inland water fisheries on the Great Lakes; extradition treaties with Spain, San Marino, Portugal and Uruguay; naturalization treaties with Peru, Portugal and Salvador; and a convention with Japan for the protection of trade marks in China and Korea.

**Other
Events
in 1908.**

Other events in 1908 were the conference of governors and others, convened by President Roosevelt at Washington, May 13-15, for the conservation of the nation's natural resources; the opening of tunnels under the East and North Rivers at New York, January 9 and February 25; the fires at Chelsea, Mass., April 12 and September 21; the trolley strike at Chester, Pa., in April; the death of ex-President Grover Cleveland June 24; the passage of the bill prohibiting betting at race-tracks by the New York legislature, June 10-11; the race riots at Springfield, Ill., August 13; and the agreement with Great Britain establishing a postal rate on letters of two cents an ounce which took effect October 1, 1908.

**Political
Conven-
tions in
1908.**

In 1908 the political parties held their nominating conventions. The nominations for President and Vice-President respectively, were as follows: by the Republican party, William H. Taft, of Ohio, and James S. Sherman of New York; by the Democratic party, William J. Bryan of Nebraska, and John W. Kern of Indiana; by the Socialist party, Eugene V. Debs of Indiana, and Ben Hanford of New York; by the Populist party, Thomas E. Watson of Georgia, and Samuel W. Williams of Indiana; by the Prohibition party, Eugene W. Chafin of Illinois, and Aaron S. Watkins of Ohio; and by the Independence party, Thomas L. Hisgen of Massachusetts, and John T. Graves of New York. In the elections in November the Republican party was successful, its candidate Taft receiving about a million and a quarter votes more than the Democratic candidate Bryan.

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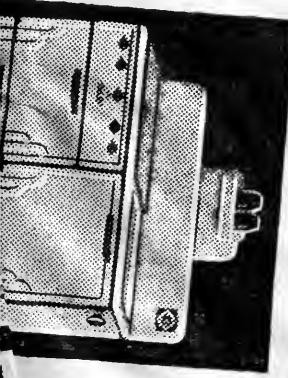
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Over Again If She
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